

THIRD REPORT
UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
IN CALIFORNIA
1947



REPORT OF THE JOINT FACT-FINDING COMMITTEE
TO THE FIFTY-SEVENTH CALIFORNIA LEGISLATURE
SACRAMENTO, 1947

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CALIFORNIA LEGISLATURE

Report of Joint Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities

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JACK B. TENNEY, *Chairman*

NELSON S. DILWORTH

HUGH M. BURNS

FRANK L. GORDON

ASSEMBLYMEN

RANDAL F. DICKEY, *Vice Chairman*

FRED H. KRAFT

HAROLD F. SAWALLISCH

JOHN F. THOMPSON



PUBLISHED BY THE SENATE

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President pro Tempore of the Senate

JOSEPH A. BEEK

Secretary of the Senate

Compliments of
SENATOR J. HOWARD WILLIAMS
12th Senatorial District

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

SENATE CHAMBER, STATE CAPITOL

SACRAMENTO, March 24, 1947

Honorable Goodwin J. Knight

President of the Senate

Senate Chamber, Sacramento, California

MR. PRESIDENT: Pursuant to Resolution Chapter 143 of the Statutes of 1945 and Resolution Chapter 32 of the Statutes of 1947, the Joint Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities was continued in existence with the following members:

Senator Jack B. Tenney, Chairman

Senator Hugh M. Burns

Senator Nelson S. Dilworth

Senator Frank L. Gordon

Assemblyman Randal F. Dickey

Assemblyman Harold F. Sawallisch

Assemblyman Fred H. Kraft

Assemblyman John F. Thompson

There is submitted herewith the report of the investigations of the committee.

The committee gratefully acknowledges the cooperation of the many citizens.

Respectfully submitted.

FOR SENATOR JACK B. TENNEY, Chairman

By SENATOR NELSON S. DILWORTH

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REPORT OF THE JOINT FACT-FINDING COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES IN CALIFORNIA

Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, and Members of the 1947 Legislature

The Joint Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities in California of the Fifty-sixth Session of the Legislature was created by Senate Concurrent Resolution 66, adopted in the Senate June 13, 1945, in the Assembly June 15, 1945, and filed with the Secretary of State June 16, 1945.

The committee was granted the sum of \$20,000 by the Senate and the Assembly in order to carry on its work. As of January 1, 1947, the committee had a balance left in its appropriation of \$771.60.

The resolution creating the committee is as follows :

WHEREAS, These are yet times of public danger. Subversive persons and groups are endangering our domestic unity so as to leave us unprepared to resist attack from without and within. Under color of the protection afforded by the Bill of Rights these persons and groups seek to destroy our freedom by force, violence, threats, undermining and sabotage, and to subject us to the domination of foreign powers and ideologies; and

WHEREAS, There is danger that the ordeal through which the country has suffered to keep the pursuit of its ideals free may be in vain; and

WHEREAS, Persons and groups, motivated by hatred of American ideals, our republican form of government and democratic processes, some bound together by allegiance to foreign powers, are even now seeking to achieve by subversion what we have so valiantly fought to sustain from force; and

WHEREAS, California, as one of the laboratories of this great Nation, may profitably study the problem within its boundaries, and enact pertinent legislation therein, if facts are available therefor; and

WHEREAS, State legislation to meet the problem and to assist law enforcement officers can best be based on a thorough and impartial investigation by a competent and active legislative committee, now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate of the State of California, the Assembly thereof concurring, as follows :

1. The Joint Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities is hereby created, authorized, appointed and directed to investigate, ascertain, collate, appraise, study and analyze all facts directly or indirectly relating to the foregoing, including any facts causing or constituting interference with the National defense program or the war effort in California or rendering the people of the State, as a part of the Nation, less fit physically, mentally, morally, economically or socially.

2. In addition to other duties imposed upon the committee, the committee shall investigate and study the activities of groups and organizations whose membership include persons who are members of organ-

izations who have as their objectives, or part of their objectives, the overthrow of the governments of the State of California or of the United States by force and violence or other unlawful means; to investigate and study all organizations known or suspected to be dominated or controlled by a foreign power which activities affect the conduct of this State in National defense or in its war effort, the functioning of any state agency, unemployment relief and other forms of public assistance, educational institutions of this State supported in whole or in part by public funds, or any political program, or which may affect the conversion of the State from a wartime economy to a peacetime economy or affect the economic and social problems incidental thereto, including but not limited to the operation, effect, administration, enforcement and needed revision of any and all laws in any way bearing upon or relating to the subject of this resolution, and to report thereon to the Legislature.

3. In addition to the foregoing, the Joint Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities is authorized and directed to ascertain, study and analyze all facts relating to the activities of persons and groups known or suspected to be dominated or controlled by a foreign power, and who owe allegiance thereto because of religious, racial, political, ideological, philosophical, or other ties, including but not limited to the influence upon all such persons and groups of education, economic circumstances, social positions, fraternal and casual associations, living standards, race, religion, political, ancestry and the activities of paid provocation and any other factors which may account for their conduct or condition their action, as well as the operation, effect, administration, enforcement and needed revision of any and all laws in any way bearing upon or relating to the subject of this resolution.

4. The committee consists of four Members of the Senate appointed by the Senate Committee on Rules, and four Members of the Assembly appointed by the Speaker. Vacancies occurring in the membership of the committee shall be filled by the appointing power.

5. The committee is authorized to act during this session of the Legislature, including any recess, and after final adjournment until final adjournment of the next regular session, with authority to file its final report not later than the last legislative day of the next regular session.

6. The committee and its members shall have and exercise all the rights, duties and powers conferred upon investigating committees and their members by the provisions of the Joint Rules of the Senate and Assembly as they are adopted and amended from time to time, which provisions are incorporated herein and made applicable to this committee and its members.

7. The committee has the following additional powers and duties:

(a) To select a chairman and a vice chairman from its membership, and to employ and fix the compensation of a secretary and such clerical, investigative, expert and technical assistants as it may deem necessary.

(b) To create subcommittees from its membership, assigning to the subcommittee any study, inquiry, investigation or hearing which the committee itself has authority to undertake or hold, and the subcommittee for the purposes of this assignment shall have and exercise all of the powers conferred upon the committee limited by the express terms of the

resolution or resolutions of the latter defining the powers and duties of the subcommittee, which powers may be withdrawn or terminated at any time by the committee.

(c) To adopt and from time to time amend such rules governing its procedure (including the fixing of its own quorum and the number of votes necessary to take action on any matter) as may to it appear appropriate.

(d) To contract with such other agencies, public or private, as it deems necessary for the rendition and affording of such services, facilities, studies and reports to the committee as will best assist it to carry out the purposes for which it is created.

(e) To hold public hearings at any place in California at which hearings the people are to have an opportunity to present their views to the committee.

(f) To summon and subpoena witnesses, require the production of papers, books, accounts, reports, documents, and records of every kind and description, to issue subpoenas and to take all necessary means to compel the attendance of witnesses and procure testimony.

(g) To cooperate with and secure the cooperation of county, city, city and county, and other local law enforcement agencies, and also civic and private organizations, in investigating any matter within the scope of this resolution, and to direct the sheriff of any county to serve subpoenas, orders and other process issued by the committee.

(h) To report its findings and recommendations to the Legislature and to the people from time to time and at any time, not later than herein provided.

(i) To do any and all other things necessary or convenient to enable it fully and adequately to exercise its powers, perform its duties, and accomplish the objects and purposes of this resolution.

8. The committee, each of its members, and any representative of the committee thereunto authorized by the committee or by its chairman, is authorized and empowered to administer oaths.

9. Every department, commission, board, agency, officer and employee of the State Government, including the Legislative Counsel, the Attorney General and their subordinates, and of any political subdivision, county, city, or public district of or in this State shall furnish the committee and any subcommittee, upon request, any and all such assistance, and information, records and documents as the committee or subcommittee deems proper for the accomplishment of the purposes for which the committee is created.

10. The sum of twenty thousand dollars (\$20,000), or as much thereof as may be necessary, is hereby made available from the contingent funds of the Senate and Assembly for the expenses of the committee and its members and for any charges, expenses or claims it may incur under this resolution, to be paid from said contingent funds equally, and disbursed, after certification by the chairman of the committee, upon warrants drawn by the State Controller upon the State Treasurer.

INTRODUCTION

Pursuant to Senate Concurrent Resolution 66, the Senate Committee on Rules appointed Senator Hugh M. Burns of Fresno County, Senator Frank L. Gordon of Napa and Yolo Counties, Senator Nelson S. Dilworth of Riverside County and Senator Jack B. Tenney of Los Angeles County, and the Speaker of the Assembly appointed Assemblymen Randal F. Dickey of Alameda, John F. Thompson of San Jose, Harold F. Sawallisch of Richmond and Fred H. Kraft of San Diego, as members of the committee. Senator Jack B. Tenney was selected as chairman.

The 1946 elections in California may properly be considered as thoroughly testing public opinion on the value and importance of the *Joint Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities in California*. Of the eight members constituting the committee only one member was defeated for reelection. Senators Nelson S. Dilworth of Riverside County and Frank L. Gordon of Napa and Yolo Counties, being hold-over Senators, did not stand for reelection in 1946. Assemblymen Randal F. Dickey of Alameda and John F. Thompson of San Jose were reelected in the Primaries. Assemblyman Fred H. Kraft of San Diego was a successful candidate for the State Senate. Senator Hugh M. Burns of Fresno was reelected.

The chairman of a committee investigating subversive activities is usually the main target for subversive "smeared" and vicious attacks. Chairman Tenney, because of his long activity with this committee and its predecessors, was selected for particular political oblivion in the 1946 elections by the Communist Party, its fellow-travelers, and front organizations. In spite of a vigorous campaign, Chairman Tenney was endorsed by the *American Federation of Labor* and received both major party nominations in the primary election. It is significant to note that the main issue in Senator Tenney's campaign was the issue of Communism. His reelection to the State Senate from the most populous county in California is indicative of the fact that the majority of the people have been awakened to the menace of Communism and that they have approved the Legislature's wisdom in creating the committee he has headed since 1941.

ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMITTEE

The accumulated testimony of witnesses, since the Joint Fact-Finding Committee was first organized in 1941, now consists of 7,588 typewritten pages contained in 29 transcript volumes. Committee exhibits have become voluminous.

R. E. Combs of Visalia was selected to continue as general counsel for the committee. Linnie Terry was elected secretary of the committee. One additional full-time investigator was employed and stenographers were hired from time to time. Official court reporters have been employed for all public hearings, and the committee's heaviest expenditures have been in this field. The funds granted the committee have been woefully inadequate to accomplish fully the goals desired. If the committee is continued, as recommended by this report it should be granted sufficient funds to employ at least one additional investigator on a full-time basis and at least two clerk-stenographers.

The American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars, Anti-Defamation League and many other patriotic and fraternal organizations continued to assist the committee, its counsel and investigators in every way possible. Many individuals and organizations, who desire to be unnamed, were of great service to the committee, its members and attachés.

The press of the State of California continued, for the greater part, to report committee hearings with accuracy and fidelity. While special mention should be made of such California periodicals as the *Hollywood Citizen News*, the *Oakland Tribune* and the *Los Angeles Times*, particular commendation is extended to the *Los Angeles Examiner* and the *San Francisco Examiner* and the Hearst papers in general for their outstanding crusade against Communism in particular and subversive groups in general. The effort of the *Communist Party of the United States of America* in its well organized "smear" campaigns against William Randolph Hearst and his newspapers has been a formidable attack. In spite of vicious, lying propaganda, the Hearst papers have stood as a bulwark against the rising tide of Red Fascism in America. William Randolph Hearst has rendered a great service to the people of the United States in courageously exposing the traitorous agents of Stalin's Russia in their underhanded attempt to destroy American freedom.

For an outstanding journalistic example of news distortion, lying propaganda, deliberate character assassination, intolerance and treason, the committee strongly recommends the West Coast Communist paper, the *People's Daily World*.

COMMUNISM AND FASCISM

The Communists continue their campaign of defamation and vilification. Any one who disagrees with the Communist Party is currently labeled a "Fascist." The dishonest and deceptive use of words such as "Democracy," "Progressive," etc., is an old trick of the Communist propagandist.

The use of a term already associated with something hated and despised, to describe that which the Communists desire to make hated and despised, is a secret weapon in the hands of Stalin's fifth column.

Fascism is such a term.

WHAT IS FASCISM?

Fascism may be said to be an economic system characterized by the complete government control of production and marketing, within the framework of private property, but under a type of socialized investment. It is a police state, unrestrained and all powerful, under a ruthless dictator. It is further distinguished by economic planning, wage and price-fixing, deficit spending, militarism and imperialism. Hitler's theories of racial superiority and inferiority have nothing to do with Fascism. Racial intolerance falls within the realm of sociology. The system that developed in Italy under the regime of Benito Mussolini was purely an economic system. Its advocates and supporters knew nothing of anti-Semitism or racial superiority as the system developed. After Hitler's rise to power in Germany in 1933, Mussolini, by way of a friendly gesture to his Axis partner, adopted some of the racial theories of *Mein Kampf*. Fascism, like any other form of government, may or may not manifest

racial intolerance. Austria, under the Dictator Engelbert Dollfuss, Portugal, under the Dictator Antonio de Oliveira Salazar, and Greece, under John Metaxas are examples of Fascist governments minus the social aspects of racial intolerance.

COMMUNISM

Communism may be briefly resummarized as an economic system characterized by government ownership of all property used in production and marketing. The government is a police state, unrestrained and all powerful, under a ruthless dictator. It is further distinguished by economic planning, wage and price-fixing, forced labor, militarism and imperialism.

RED FASCISM

Both Fascism and Communism are distinguished by complete government control over production; the means, quantity, quality, the when and where, of production and distribution. Both types of government are totalitarian, one party systems, featuring planned economy under bureaucratic control. The single party constitutes a preferred elite protected against the regimented and enslaved masses by a brutal secret police. Militarism and imperialism constitute the hard core of both systems of government.

Hence, Communism may be properly termed *Red-Fascism*.

CAPITALISM

Capitalism may be briefly summarized as an economic system characterized by the private ownership of property and the individual determination of production and distribution under only such government regulation as may be necessary to protect the public welfare.

The complete loss of all individual freedom is the price the people pay for Fascism or Communism.

COMMUNIST IMPERIALISM

Do the people of the United States have real reason to fear Communism?

Basing its conclusion on the accumulated evidence of more than six years investigation, the committee finds that the people of California and of the United States have real cause to fear Communism. It is a foreign-controlled, totalitarian movement whose leaders have openly declared that it advocates revolution and the destruction of the government of the United States. The over-all strategy of the Communist Party is the ultimate destruction of all capitalist states by force and violence. The "target-for-today" is determined by expediency. The "day-to-day struggle" constitutes basic Communist tactics—the skirmishes and battles in the Communist war for world domination. Stalin has made this so clear that a child should be able to understand it. "Strategy," the Russian dictator declares, "deals with the main forces of the revolution and their reserves. It changes with the transition of the revolution from one stage to another, but remains essentially unchanged throughout the entire duration of a given stage. Tactics are the determination of the line of the conduct of the proletariat for the comparatively short period of

the ebb or flow of the movement, of the rise or decline of the revolution, the struggle to carry out this line by replacing old forms of struggle and of organization by new ones, old slogans by new ones, by combining these forms, etc. *While the aim of strategy is to win the war * * ** tactics concern themselves with less important aims, as they strive, *not to win the war as a whole*, but rather to win a particular engagement, or a particular battle; to carry through successfully a particular campaign or action corresponding to the concrete circumstances of the rise or decline of the revolution. Tactics are a part of strategy, subordinate and subservient to it."

The Committee, in previous reports, has attempted to trace the tactics of the *Communist Party of the United States* through the "ebb and flow," the "rise and decline" of the "revolution," and has pointed out that Communist tactics in the United States conform meticulously to Soviet foreign policy. Hence, on occasion, the *Communist Party of the United States of America* brazenly calls for violent revolution and on other occasions denies that it seeks to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat in the United States by illegal means. In brief, the Communist Party attacks when it believes conditions warrant attack, and retreats when retreat is deemed advisable. It must be thoroughly understood that the Communist Party is merely following the directives of Lenin and Stalin.

Again Dictator Stalin, quoting Lenin with devotion, has issued the order-of-the-day: "It is necessary * * * to use any ruse, cunning, unlawful methods, evasion, concealments of the truth * * *." So that the comrades throughout the world will thoroughly understand, Stalin, again quoting Lenin, declares: "The revolutionary party must complete their education. They have learned to attack. Now they must understand that it is necessary to supplement this knowledge with the knowledge of how to retreat properly. They must understand—and the revolutionary class by its own bitter experience learns to understand—that victory is impossible without having learned both how to attack and how to retreat correctly."

Thus, when the *Communist Party of the United States of America* declares that it stands for the violent overthrow of the government of the United States, its leaders believe that a revolutionary condition, plus a governmental crisis, exists, and that attack is advisable. When Communist Party leaders suddenly disavow any intention to destroy the government of the United States by force and violence it should be understood that the Party, for reasons of expediency, is merely employing the tactic of retreat.

The committee, in a previous report, quoted former Supreme Court Justice Charles Evans Hughes, speaking before the United States Senate Committee on Foreign Relations in 1924, when Mr. Hughes was Secretary of State. At that time Mr. Hughes stated:

"It will be seen that the question of whether Communist programs contemplate the use of force and violence has been passed upon by every class of tribunal which would pass upon it, namely, federal and state courts, administrative tribunals and legislative committees of both Federal and State Governments and in every case the result has been in support of the position that force and violence are inseparable from Communist programs."

In the case of *United States ex rel Martin Ahern v. Wallace*, 268 Fed. 413, District Judge Knox said:

"I am of the opinion that the manifesto and program of the Communist Party, together with other exhibits in the case, are of such character as to lead a reasonable man to conclude that the purpose of the Communist Party is to accomplish its end, namely, the capture and destruction of the State, as now constituted, by force and violence * * *. If those who support the Communist Party in its present declaration of principles hope for success—and I must assume that they have such hope—I cannot do otherwise than conclude that they must contemplate the employment of force and violence. In other words, I am unable to perceive how the expropriation of private property can be accomplished without the employment of forbidden instrumentalities."

The evidence is overwhelming, and the committee is convinced that the Communist Party can only accomplish its ultimate purpose through the use of force and violence and that, although the party may retreat from time to time, utilizing "cunning," "evasion," and deceptive tactics of retreat, the objective is the destruction of the government of the United States.

COMMUNIST "SHARP-TURN" TACTIC

The committee found the Communist Party cooperating with Hitler's Fifth Column in the United States during the Hitler-Stalin Pact. When Hitler invaded Russia, the committee found the Communist Party switching from isolationism to intervention over-night. For 22 months World War II, according to the Communist Party, was a "British Imperialist War." When Russia was attacked by Hitler on the 22d day of June, 1941, the war suddenly became a "People's War." In order to secure all possible aid to Soviet Russia the *Communist Party of the United States* did everything possible to play down their former brazen announcements for the destruction of the government. The Communist Party, as a political entity, was deceptively "dissolved," and the *Communist Political Association* was created in its stead. The *Communist Third International (Comintern)* was allegedly dissolved in 1943 for the same reason. When the shooting was over and Stalin's Russia was saved, Jacques Duclos, French Communist leader, acting as the Kremlin's mouthpiece, attacked Earl Browder, titular head of the *Communist Party of the United States*, declaring that he had made a gross ideological blunder in dissolving the party. It should be noted here that the Duclos criticism of Browder and the *American Communist Party* applies with equal force to the alleged dissolution of the *Communist Third International (Comintern)*. The ruse employed by Browder at the instigation of his masters in the Kremlin had served its purpose, and Browder was deposed, and the party resumed its original character by liquidating the *Communist Political Association*. The alleged abolition of the Comintern has not yet been repudiated. It is obvious that this Communist tactic has not yet fully served its purpose. It will be continued for diplomatic reasons conformable to present Soviet foreign policy. Very few informed persons are so gullible as to believe that the

Comintern was ever dissolved. Very few informed persons were deceived by the alleged dissolution of the *Communist Party of the United States* in its ruse of name-changing. While Earl Browder was compelled to read the lines prepared for him and undergo the apparent humiliation of being deposed as the head of the party in the United States, his sacrifice was recognized by his masters in the Kremlin. He is now a book salesman for the Comintern and registered as an agent of a foreign government (Soviet Russia) with the Department of State in October of 1946.

WHAT CAN A FEW COMMUNISTS DO?

Many informed persons, thoroughly understanding the objectives of the Communist Party, continue to parrot Comintern propaganda to the effect that the Communists constitute a very small minority organization in the United States and are powerless to carry their objectives into effect against an overwhelming patriotic majority. This is purely Communist propaganda, unwittingly repeated by people who should know better. This type of propaganda is designed to divert attention from Communist machinations while the party members infiltrate every phase of American life. About 30,000 Communists were able to overthrow the Kerensky Government in Russia, and it always has been a fundamental Communist theory that the membership of the party be held to a small, compact group of professional revolutionaries.

Mikhail Aleksandrovich Bakunin, who worked with Marx and Engels until he was expelled from the *First International* in 1872, declared:

“A hundred revolutionists, firmly bound together, would be enough for the international organization of all Europe.”

William Z. Foster, who replaced Earl Browder as the chief spokesman for the *Communist Party of the United States*, in speaking of the party on page 28 of his book, *The Russian Revolution*, says: “It is not a mass organization. Mere numbers mean nothing to it * * *. The masses would only clog up the organization machinery and prevent the smooth working of these militants. The Communist Party is the distilled essence of working class energy and revolutionary spirit. It is the little leaven that leaveneth the whole lump. Its influence and power is enormously greater than its small numbers would indicate.”

The movement of the masses toward revolution is part of the day-to-day tactic of the Communist Party. This, they believe, is best accomplished by involving non-Communists in agitational programs. The non-Communists are easily handled in “mass organizations” directed and controlled by well placed Communist functionaries. Ruth McKenney, a member of the Communist Party, boldly reveals this technique of the party in the *New Masses*, May 31, 1938. She said:

“The Communist Party of America operates on almost every conceivable battlefield of this country, in trade unions, in farm organizations, in ladies clubs, in Harlem, in the deep South, among the intellectuals. All this busy and effective scurrying around is efficiently centralized.”

The Manifesto of the American Communist Party adopted in April of 1934 reveals the methods by which America is to be brought to a condition of chaos, at which time, the small, compact group of Communist conspirators will be enabled to seize power. The aforesaid Manifesto makes the following declaration:

"The revolutionary way out of the crisis begins with the fight for unemployment insurance, against wage-cuts, for wage increases, for relief to the farmers—through demonstrations, strikes, general strikes, leading up to the seizure of power, to the destruction of capitalism by a revolutionary workers' government."

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

William Z. Foster replaced Earl Browder as Secretary of the *Communist Party of the United States*. It is reasonable to conclude that the selection of Foster was no mere accident, and that his selection was fore-ordained by Stalin. It is very natural to speculate on Foster's leadership of the party and the change in revolutionary tempo to be expected under his guidance. A general idea of what to expect is contained in Foster's public statements. The committee, heretofore, has quoted Foster at considerable length. As this question is of great importance, it will not be out of place to again call attention to some of Foster's statements.

In 1930 Foster declared under oath that "The workers of this country and the workers of every country have only one flag and that is the Red flag. That is the flag of the proletarian revolution." He emphatically declared that the aims of the *Communist Party of the United States* are the same as those of the Communists in Russia and throughout the world. He explained that "the workers, the revolutionary workers, in all the capitalist countries are an oppressed class who are held in subjection by their respective capitalist governments and their attitude toward these governments is the abolition of these governments and the establishment of Soviet governments." He brazenly stated that:

"The conquest of power by the proletariat does not mean peaceful capturing of ready-made bourgeois state machinery by means of a parliamentary majority. The bourgeois resorts to every means of violence and terror to safeguard and strengthen its predatory property and political domination. Like the feudal nobility of the past, the bourgeoisie cannot abandon its historical position to the new class without a desperate and frantic struggle; hence the violence of the bourgeoisie can only be suppressed by the stern violence of the proletariat."

In its 1943 report the committee quoted Foster, speaking as the Communist Party nominee for President of the United States, as follows:

"We must utilize this campaign to carry on a widespread and energetic propaganda to teach the workers that the Capitalist class would never allow the working class peaceably to take control of the State. That is their strong right arm, and they will fight violently to the end to retain it. We working class must shatter the capitalist State. We must build a new State, a new government, a workers'

and farmers' government, the Soviet government of the United States * * *. In all our agitation around these demands we must emphasize the absolute necessity for the proletarian revolution. Our strategy is to utilize these immediate demands to educate and organize the masses in preparation for the final revolutionary struggle, which will abolish capitalism altogether. *Reliance upon immediate demands would lead us merely to reformism.* Our party is a revolutionary party * * *."

FOSTER ON FORCE AND VIOLENCE

Does William Z. Foster believe that the Communist Party can come to power in the United States by the election of its nominee for President and a majority of Communists elected to the House of Representatives and the United States Senate? The following is Foster's answer to this important question:

"No Communist, no matter how many votes he should secure in a national election, could, even if he would, become President of the present government. When a Communist heads a government of the United States (and that day will come just as surely as the sun rises), the government will not be a capitalistic government, but a Soviet government and behind this government will stand the Red Army to enforce the dictatorship of the proletariat."

It should be quite obvious that William Z. Foster owes his first allegiance to the Soviet Union; that the only flag recognized by him and his party is the Red Flag and that he looks with scorn on democratic procedures and seeks power by revolutionary force and violence rather than through a parliamentary majority. He looks with contempt upon the ballot and relies upon revolution and a Red Army for the accomplishment of Communist objectives in the United States.

COMMUNIST PARTY UNDERGROUND

The committee heretofore has reported on the Communist *underground*; the Lenin-Stalin theory of legal work and illegal work, legal methods and illegal methods, their combinations and the technique to be used in their application.

The following statement is from the monthly ideological publication, *The Communist* (July, 1922):

"A truly revolutionary (i.e., Communist) party can never be 'legal' in the sense of having its purpose harmonize with the purpose of the laws made by the capitalist state, or its acts conform with the intent of capitalist law. Hence, to call a Communist Party 'legal' means that its existence is tolerated by the capitalist state because of circumstances which embarrass the capitalist state's efforts to suppress it. The revolutionary party can avoid suppression into a completely secret existence only by one or both of two means.

"(a) By taking advantage of the pretense of 'democratic forms' which the capitalist state is obliged to maintain. By this

means the Communists can maintain themselves in the open with a restricted program while establishing themselves with mass support.

“(b) (Later stage.) By commanding such mass support among wide masses of workers that enable them to proclaim publicly their final object in the revolutionary struggle and maneuver openly to attain this object regardless of the desire of the capitalist state to suppress it * * *.”

* * * * *

“As to whether a ‘legal’ Communist Party is possible, the test is whether the full communist program (including the principle of mass action and the violent overthrow of the capitalist state) together with affiliation with Communist Internationale, can publicly be maintained without the party being suppressed * * *.”

“The underground machinery of the Communist Party is not merely a temporary device to be liquidated as soon as the Communist Party with its full program can be announced in the open. *The underground machinery is for permanent use.*” (Committee’s italics)

* * * * *

“There is never a time, previous to the final overthrow of the capitalist state, when a truly revolutionary party does not have to perform a considerable amount of work *free from police knowledge and interference.*” (Committee’s italics.)

The committee has found much evidence of the work of the Communist underground in California. The use of aliases by Communist Party members is strongly indicative of the underground technique used by the party. Herbert K. Sorrell is a California example of a Communist Party underground member. In its partial report submitted to the Legislature February 19, 1946, the committee set forth the testimony of two outstanding experts on questioned documents, Clark Sellers and John L. Harris. These experts had examined the admitted handwriting of Herbert K. Sorrell and compared it with the Communist Party documents containing similar writing by one Herbert Stewart. Both experts testified that the handwriting in both instances was the work of the same man, namely, Herbert K. Sorrell. Thus in spite of the denials of Sorrell, it was conclusively proved that he was known as *Herbert Stewart* in the Communist Party underground in California.

The congressional committee on Un-American Activities reported June 7, 1946, that the use of aliases extended to national leaders of the *Communist Party*. William Z. Foster, Secretary of the *Communist Party of the United States*, used the name “Comrade Borden,” during the Communist Party convention at Bridgman, Michigan, August 20, 1922. Earl Browder, the committee states, used the name of “Ward” and Jay Lovestone was known as “Wheat” at the same convention. “Comrade Carr” was L. E. Katterfield. Robert Minor has used the name of “James Ballister” and Israel Amter has used the name of “Ford.”

DOES STALIN PLAN WORLD CONQUEST?

Nikolai Bukharin, liquidated old Bolshevik, had the following to say in *Program of the Communists*:

"A thoughtful survey of the position reveals to us that Russia is the only country in which the proletariat has yet overthrown the bourgeois state. The rest of the world is still possessed by the capitalist exploiters. Soviet Russia with her workers and peasants government is like a tiny island in the stormy ocean of capitalism. Should the victory of the Russian workers be followed by the victory of the German and Australian workers there would still remain the great robber states of capitalism. Should the entire capitalism of Europe give way under the hammer stroke of the working class, there would still remain the capitalism of Asia, headed by the robbers of Japan, and the capitalism of America, headed by the enormous robbers league named the United States of America.

These capitalist states will not surrender their position without a struggle. They will fight desperately in order to prevent the proletariat from securing world power. The greater the onrush of the proletariat the more precarious becomes the position of capitalism, the more must it strain every muscle in its fight against the workers. When the proletariat has been victorious in one, two, or three countries, it will come into unavoidable collision with the capitalist world still remaining, which will endeavor to crush, with blood and iron, the attempt of the workers to liberate themselves. Therefore, even after the revolution we must understand that there will be, in some countries, a transition period between Capitalism and Communism, in which the workers will be faced by a hard struggle against their enemies, both at home and abroad."

Hitler, in *Mein Kampf*, early published his blueprint for world conquest. Comparatively few people read *Mein Kampf*, and those who did shrugged their shoulders and promptly forgot about it. World War II was the result. Stalin, with equal boldness, has published the Communist blueprint for world conquest, and, judging from international conferences on peace and the statements and actions of the representatives of democratic nations, it would appear that Stalin's brazen announcement for world domination is being ignored as fully as was Hitler's warning in *Mein Kampf*. If Soviet foreign policy is to be understood, Stalin's plan for world conquest must be studied.

The committee believes that the following quotations are of real importance to California and the United States. Although Lenin is reverently quoted it should be remembered that it is Dictator Stalin speaking.

In *Problems of Leninism*, the dictator makes the following statement:
"What does the impossibility of the complete final victory of Socialism in a single country without the victory of the revolution in other countries mean?

"It means the impossibility of having a full guarantee against intervention, and against the restoration of the bourgeois order,

without the victory of the revolution in at least a number of countries. To deny this indisputable fact is to abandon internationalism, to abandon Leninism.

“‘We are living’—Lenin writes—‘not merely in a state, but in a *system of states*: and it is inconceivable that the Soviet republic should continue to exist for a long period side by side with imperialistic states. *Ultimately one or the other must conquer*. Meanwhile a number of terrible clashes between the Soviet republic and the bourgeois states is *inevitable*. This means that if the proletariat, as the ruling class, wants to and will rule, it must prove it also by military organization’.” (Committee’s italics.)

* * * * *

“Tactics deal with the forms of struggle and the forms of organization of the proletariat, with their changes and correlations. Tactics may have to be changed several times in a period of a given stage of the revolution according to the flow and ebb, the rise and fall of the revolution.

“* * * maneuvering with the reserve calculated to effect a correct retreat when the enemy is strong, when retreat is inevitable, when the disadvantages of engaging in a battle forced upon us by the enemy are obvious, when retreat is the only way under the given alignment of forces to ward off a blow from the vanguard and keep the reserves intact.

* * * * *

“The object of this strategy is to gain time, to disintegrate the enemy and to accumulate forces in order to assume the offensive later.”

It appears that the Russian dictator’s words are carefully chosen and that his intentions are clearly stated. So that no misunderstanding be permitted to develop, Stalin elaborates upon the theme of world revolution. Again quoting from *Leninism*:

“If the postulate that the *final* victory of socialism in the first country to emancipate itself is impossible without the combined efforts of the proletarians of several countries is true, then it is equally true that the more effective the assistance rendered by the first socialist country to the workers and toiling masses of all other countries, the more rapid and thorough will be the development of the world revolution.

“By what should this assistance be expressed?

“It should be expressed, first, by the victorious country achieving the ‘utmost possible in one country *for* the development, support and stirring up of the revolution in *all countries*.’

“Second, it should be expressed in that the ‘victorious proletariat’ of one country, ‘having expropriated the capitalists and organized its own socialist production, would rise * * * against the rest of the capitalist world, attract to itself the oppressed classes of other countries, raise revolts among them against the capitalists, and in the event of necessity, *come out even with armed force against the exploiting classes and their states*.’” (Committee’s italics.)

In these quotations Stalin is telling the world as clearly as he can that it is his intention to build a gigantic arsenal within the Soviet Union, plant fifth columns throughout the capitalist nations of the world and, when the time is ripe, make his bid for world conquest and domination. He intends to gain as much as possible by diplomatic maneuvers designed to create two centers upon the surface of the globe. He foresees a Soviet center in Europe and a capitalist center in the United States. He plans for conflict between these two centers and believes that the Soviet Union will conquer. If the committee's summation in this regard should appear fantastic or a distortion of Stalin's statement, the following quotation from Stalin's *Leninism* should remove every doubt.

"Thus, in the further progress of development of the international revolution, two world centres will be formed: the socialist centre, attracting to itself all the countries gravitating toward socialism, and the capitalist centre, attracting to itself all the countries gravitating toward capitalism. The fight between these two centres for the conquest of world economy will decide the fate of capitalism and communism throughout the whole world, for the final defeat of world capitalism means the victory of socialism in the arena of world economy."

Stalin believes that conflict between capitalism and Communism is unavoidable. Lenin, whom he quotes with admiration and approval, believed that such a conflict is inevitable, and he looked upon it as the greatest difficulty in the Russian revolution. Because Stalin believes that two diametrically opposed economic systems cannot exist peacefully in the world together he must stir up world revolution or go down to ignominious defeat at the hands of the oppressed Russian people themselves.

The committee finds that Communism is a world revolutionary movement and that Stalin, as the head of the world Communist parties (for the protection of the Soviet Union) must follow the course charted by Marx and Engels—blazed by Lenin and Trotsky, and now traveled inexorably by Stalin—the road to world conquest.

The seeds of World War III have already been sown. Only a firm government in Washington, a firm and sound foreign policy in the State Department and a people united in American traditions and liberties, can block the conflict that Lenin and Stalin have both declared to be inevitable.

SEVENTH PERIOD OF COMMUNIST STRATEGY

In the committee's first report, submitted to the Legislature in 1943, six periods of Communist strategy in the United States were analyzed. The First Period began with the creation of the Communist Party in 1919 and meticulously followed Soviet foreign policy through its needs and ambitions until the curtain on the Sixth Period was dramatically raised with the invasion of Soviet Russia by the Nazi armies on June 22, 1941.

A Seventh Period of Communist Strategy in the United States was predicted by the committee in its 1945 Report.

END OF SIXTH PERIOD

The Sixth Period may be said to have ended with the final defeat of Nazi Germany. It marked the end of Communist pretended collaboration with capitalism.

The twistings and squirmings, the intellectual somersaults and mental gymnastics of the American Communist since his appearance on the American scene in 1919 should convince the most gullible American that this phenomenon is merely a puppet show manipulated by the masters in the Kremlin. It should now be clear to most people that these American Quislings, driven onward by a psychological sense of guilt, incompetency, inferiority and frustration, seek compensation by the destruction of the extant order with the hope of ego-flating reward and recognition in the new regime under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Communist revolutionaries never contemplated seizure of government power through thousands of members organized in military battalions. Most Americans believe that something of this kind is meant when the Communist revolution by force and violence is mentioned. This belief is augmented by clever Communist propaganda to the effect that a small Communist minority is incapable of violent revolution against an overwhelming majority. The truth of the situation is that the Communists expect to lead the non-Communist majority of the American people in revolt against the government, to seize power when the government totters, turn on the non-Communist majority, liquidate outstanding opponents, abolish the Congress and state legislatures, and immediately establish the dictatorship.

Armed with the principles of revolutionary Marxism plus the practical revolutionary experience of Lenin and Stalin, the American Communist goes about his work of subversion and sabotage with a thoroughness that is a little short of amazing. The Communist Parties of the world constitute an international network of espionage. The daily task of subversion and sabotage has been minutely sketched by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, and the chief leaders and functionaries are thoroughly acquainted with the techniques for the jobs assigned to them. The over-all Communist strategy for world revolution and conquest is charted in the Kremlin from which headquarters important orders-of-the-day frequently issue. Thus all major Communist activities are coordinated one

with the other. A continuous stream of valuable and strategically important information moves from the Communist Party of each country into the secret archives of the Comintern in Moscow.

The committee in its 1945 Report pointed out on page 98 thereof that the *Communist*, as early as November, 1935, had analyzed a future possible alliance between Soviet Russia and Capitalist nations in the event of a Second World War. "The Soviet Union," said *The Communist* (ideological party magazine), "will be *forced*, in case of war, to ally herself with capitalist power. If the Soviet Government, even now, is forced to adapt its diplomatic methods to those of Capitalist allies; if the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, even now, *disapproves* of the Communist Parties of the countries allied to the Soviet Union *in order to please Capitalist allies* and asks them to submit to the demands of their Capitalist war ministers—if this is happening now, there will certainly, in the event of war, be a still greater danger that the war policy of the Soviet Union may be influenced by the pressure of her Capitalist allies, and that therefore her revolutionary working-class character may be obscured or diluted. In view of this danger, International Socialism must insist that the Soviet Government *conduct the war as a revolutionary war, a war of propaganda* with a view to bringing about the working-class revolution in Germany, and to facilitate in the other countries *the use of war for the overthrow of the Capitalist regime* * * *. Socialism must not forget that the aims of the Capitalist governments allied on the side of the Soviet Union are entirely different from its own. It must therefore maintain, with regard to these governments, its complete independence. It must not accept political responsibility for their conduct of the war. *It must not enter into a 'civil peace' with them.*" (Committee italics.)

The committee in its 1945 Report (page 98) reproduced another quotation from the same publication (*The Communist*, November, 1935) which forecast the postwar plan of the Soviet Union to dominate and communize European nations. The quotation is as follows:

"The capitalist governments will go to war with the intention of destroying Germany's power forever * * * *Our aim can only be to bring about the working-class revolution in Germany, and, as soon as the revolution is victorious, immediately to make peace with the new working-class Germany * * * and to bring about the union of all the European nations and the federations of Socialist workers and peasants States* * * *.

"The capitalist governments will at first try to defeat Germany in alliance with the Soviet Union. Every victory of the Soviet Union will add to her reputation in Europe and Asia, and thereby endanger the Capitalist system. Soon the countries allied to the Soviet Union will be more afraid of the victories of their ally than of the victories of the common enemy. Having first tried to defeat Germany they will, on the very day after the common victory, turn on the Soviet Union in order to save the Capitalist system. Against this, our aim must be first to defeat Fascism by a common effort, *and then to organize in common with the Soviet Union and the victorious German revolution the Socialist economy of Europe.*

"Therefore the Socialist parties of the democratic countries allied to the Soviet Union, from the first day of the war, must make the masses understand the *difference* between their own aims and those of the Capitalist classes." (Committee italics.)

As has been said before, there can be no better authority for the actual aims and purposes of world-wide Communism than Joseph Stalin himself. The following quotations from his own writings are of great importance. They are taken from *Problems of Leninism*, by Joseph Stalin, International Publishers, New York, 1935 (Second Printing) :

"International imperialism, with all the might of its capital and its highly organized military technique, which represents a real force, a real fortress of international capital, could under no circumstances, under no possible conditions, live side by side with the Soviet Republic, both because of its objective situation and because of the economic interest of the Capitalist class which were incorporated in it; it could not do this because of commercial ties and of international financial relationships. *A conflict is inevitable.* This is the greatest difficulty in the Russian revolution, its greatest historical problem: the necessity to solve international problems, the necessity to call forth the world revolution."

"Such is the inner character in the basic ideal of the proletarian revolution.

"Can such a radical transformation of the old bourgeois system of society be achieved without a violent revolution, without the dictatorship of the proletariat?

"Obviously not. To think that such a revolution can be carried out peacefully within the framework of bourgeois democracy, which is adapted to the combination of the bourgeoisie, means one of two things. It means either madness, and the loss of normal, human understanding, or else an open and gross repudiation of the proletarian revolution.

"Then there is the question: can a country in which the dictatorship of the proletariat has been established, consider itself fully guaranteed against foreign intervention, and consequently against the restoration of the old order, without the victory of the revolution in a number of other countries, a question which must be answered in the negative."

"For what else is our country, 'the country that is building socialism', if not the base of the world revolution?"

The foregoing authoritative quotations from Stalin are set forth here as a back-drop for an analysis of the Seventh Period of Communist strategy in the United States—the era in which this report is being prepared. In many respects this period is the most interesting of all, not only because it is current and therefore necessarily of interest, highlighted as it is by the international situation, but because of an interesting development in the small and compact official family of the American *Communist Party*.

The committee, in former reports, presented voluminous documentary evidence describing the attitude of the *Communist Party of the United States of America* during the period of the Nonaggression Pact between the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany. During this period American Communists called President Roosevelt a war-monger, opposed conscription, ridiculed the government's effort in preparedness, created new and potent front organizations such as the *American Peace Mobilization*, fomented strikes in key defense industries, raised the slogan, "*The Yanks Are Not Coming*," and adopted generally an active program designed to isolate the United States and to strengthen Stalin's hand in his machiavelian partnership with Hitler. The invasion of Soviet Russia by the armies of Germany resulted in a breath-taking party line reversal on the part of American Communists. The *American Peace Mobilization* was immediately liquidated, Roosevelt ceased to be a war-monger and became an over-night hero, and, though the United States was not prepared for its own defense, the "Second Front" slogan was raised by the Communists immediately to relieve the Nazi pressure on the Soviet Union. The *British Imperialist War* became a "*People's War*" within 24 hours after the first Nazi Panzer Division had swept into the Ukraine. The epidemic of strikes in defense industries ceased, and the Communist Party led the "No Strike Pledge" in the labor movement.

After the United States had been drawn into the European conflict, and as the German armies swept from one Russian town to another, it became increasingly evident that full collaboration between the Soviet Union and its number one capitalist enemy, the United States, was inevitable. For the sake of the Red Fatherland the *Communist Party of the United States* embarked upon a gigantic appeasement program, carefully avoiding any act or statement that might irritate the capitalist nation from which flowed an ever mounting supply of materials of war to the crumbling Soviet Union.

In 1943 Moscow announced that the Comintern (the Third Communist International), created by Lenin in 1919 as a high board of strategy for world revolution and to which all Communist Parties throughout the world were affiliated, had been completely liquidated. This gesture on the part of Comintern strategists was designed to lull Russia's capitalist allies into the belief that the Soviet Union had abandoned its ideas of world conquest and domination. Stalin undoubtedly believed that this deceptive act of appeasement would hurry the "Second Front" and accelerate the time for the allied invasion of the Continent of Europe.

TEHERAN CONFERENCE

Earl Browder, for 14 years the leader of the American Communist movement, wrote a book shortly after Stalin, Prime Minister Churchill and President Roosevelt met in their historic conference at Teheran. Stalin, had he acted in good faith in the alleged dissolution of the Comintern, would have been guilty of the most heinous Bolshevik crime; in his own words he would have "abandoned Leninism and the revolution." The Red Fatherland, however, was in great difficulty and in such case Lenin had counseled that "it is necessary * * * to use any ruse, cunning * * * concealments of the truth * * *." Undoubtedly the trusted leaders of the Communist Parties scattered throughout the world

had been advised of the contemplated ruse and thoroughly understood the role they were expected to play in Stalin's brazen act of diplomatic cunning. Browder was selected as the particular victim to be offered at the altar of "Moribund Capitalism." It is to be believed that he entered into the role with the same enthusiasm that a Bukharin exemplified in his confessions in Stalin's blood Purge. *Tehera—Our Path in Peace and War* was his first step on the road to the sacrificial altar. This amazing book by America's leading Communist openly advocated the necessity of close collaboration between Communism and Capitalism against the common enemy! It foresaw a brilliant future for American capitalist development and shoved the Communist world-wide revolution into the obscure background. As a result the *Communist Party of the United States of America* suddenly committed "hari-kari" and emerged as an innocuous debating society, the *Communist Political Association of the United States of America*. Contemporaneously with this appeasement gesture, the *Young Communist League* met in convention, liquidated itself and came forth as *American Youth for Democracy*. The same method of deception and cunning was exercised everywhere the Communists had tainted the American scene. Even the monthly ideological publication, *The Communist*, was relaunched in a camouflaged format dubbed *Political Affairs*. The spots of the leopard had been painted over, but, as subsequent events revealed, the spots were there nevertheless. The traitorous stench remained.

Every student of Communism was well aware that the apparent change in philosophic attitude enunciated by Earl Browder was the result of positive instructions from the Kremlin.

SCHNEIDERMAN ON THE KREMLIN LINE

William Schneiderman, Secretary of the *Communist Party of California*, explained the substance of Communist theory for the Sixth Period of strategy in the United States when he testified before the Committee in San Francisco (Committee Transcript, Volume XXIV, pp. 285-288):

Q. (By Mr. Combs): Isn't it a fact that the essence of the Communist ideology is found in chapter four of the textbook that I have just mentioned, the chapter being entitled *Historical and Dialectical Materialism*?

A. That gives a basis for the philosophy of Marxism; not necessarily all of the Marxian ideology.

Q. What is meant from a Communist standpoint or a Marxist standpoint by "dialectical materialism?"

A. It's a scientific method of thought which describes the laws of motion of society, and that's about the limit that I could give you verbally. If you want a more precise definition, I'll be glad to write it and have it included in the record.

Q. No, it was a preliminary question. My next question: Do they teach embryonic students historical and dialectic materialism?

A. I have never taught the subject, so I couldn't say. It's a rather complicated subject.

Q. Yes, I know.

A. It's a subject for more advanced students. We in public activities discuss philosophy, naturally. A small minority of the people are interested in the philosophy.

Q. But the Communist ideology was essentially predicated on philosophy?

A. Yes, materialistic philosophy.

Q. And still is?

A. Yes.

Q. Now, Mr. Schneiderman, you recall when the Comintern or the Third International was dissolved, do you not?

A. Yes.

Q. Was there any change in the essential attitude of the Communist Party after the dissolution of the Comintern, so far as its basic ideas and objects were concerned?

A. No.

Q. It remained the same afterwards as it did before?

A. That's right.

Q. Has there been any change in the basic objectives and purposes and ideology of the Communist movement in the United States after the formation of the *Communist Political Association*?

A. Yes, there has. As a matter of fact, even before the formation of the Political Association.

Q. How long before?

A. I would date it about January of this year.

Q. January 1st?

A. The month of January.

Q. And what event brought about that change?

A. The event which caused us to revise our estimates of what is likely to happen was the Teheran Conference that took place between the American, British and Soviet Governments.

Q. Now, Mr. Schneiderman—

A. (Interrupting) Just another sentence or two—we came to the conclusion that this marked a basic and fundamental change in the whole world situation by bringing about a world coalition, and instead of fighting each other we saw a long and indefinite period of peace and stable relations in all countries as a result of the victory in this war, and we came to a conclusion as a result of this coalition and cooperation on an international scale that resulted from the conference at Teheran that American capitalism had a very bright future of prosperity, strength and stability; for the first time it found a world market which could take care of all the goods this country could possibly produce.

Q. You have given an excellent example of the process of dialectic materialism?

A. I suppose you could call it that.

Q. In other words, the attitude of the party in this country changed because of the fact it views these events through the lenses of Marxism or dialectical materialism. isn't that true?

A. That's right.

Q. Did the same change of attitude occur when the Germans invaded the Soviet Union in June, 1941?

A. What do you mean, the same change of attitude?

Q. Was it again the application of dialectical materialism that resulted in that change of attitude?

A. No. I believe that many people who are not Marxists developed a change of attitude on the world situation.

Q. Unquestionable we could—

A. (Interrupting) We found the change of the history that was marked by Munich, that is, appeasement—appeasement of Hitler, and that this had changed into an entirely different war because of the attack by the Germans on the Soviet Union, and it was recognized by the American Government, and they changed their views and pronouncements very considerably after June, 1941.

Q. Getting back to the basic question, wouldn't you say that was a change of attitude of the Communist working of dialectic materialism again?

A. I suppose so.

DOROTHY HEALY ON "BROWDERISM"

The committee subpoenaed Dorothy Healy (formerly Dorothy Ray) at its Los Angeles hearing, January 2, 1946. Since Mrs. Healy was, at the time of the hearing, Secretary of the *Communist Party of Los Angeles County*, and had been a delegate to the National Convention of the *Communist Party of the United States* in New York at which the Browder changes were adopted, her testimony is most illuminating:

Q. (By Mr. Combs): You are familiar, Mrs. Healy, are you not, with a convention which was held in New York by the Communist Party at which it was determined to change the name from the *Communist Party of the United States* to the *Communist Political Association*?

A. I am familiar only through reading about it.

Q. But you are familiar in a general way from your reading, are you not?

A. That is correct.

Q. To what would you attribute that action?

A. Would you make the question a little clearer, Mr. Combs?

Q. Yes. Why, in your opinion, was that change in name made?

A. I believe the change in the name was made to correspond at that time with what was the approach in the thinking of the American Communist Party, that it was not functioning as a political party but more as an educational association within a country.

Q. And you say that was the opinion of the membership of the Communist Party as a whole?

A. Obviously.

Q. And the change was made, wasn't it?

A. That is correct.

Q. And about when was that?

A. I believe it was 1943, but I am not positive. I don't have any records.

Q. Late in 1943 or early in '44?

A. Somewhere about that time. I am not certain of the exact date.

Q. And since that time the organization has functioned as the *Communist Political Association*?

A. Well, until July, 1945, it functioned as a political association.

Q. Are you familiar with a monthly magazine which has been published for a number of years under the name, "*The Communist*"?

A. That is correct.

Q. It changed its name to "*Political Affairs*," did it not?

A. Yes.

Q. About the same time or shortly thereafter?

A. I would presume so.

Q. And the *Young Communist League* met in a convention in New York and changed its name to *American Youth for Democracy*, did it not?

A. That I can't answer. I don't remember.

Q. Do you know anything about it?

A. Only what I was reading in the Tenney Committee statement in 1943.

Q. To the effect that that was what happened?

A. That was your statement, yes.

Q. We expect to prove it at this hearing.

A. I think you could probably call people in to discuss it. I don't know what you are going to prove.

Q. Did you read the book which was written by Mr. Earl Browder, "*Tehera—Our Path in Peace and War*"?

A. I did.

Q. You recall that he predicted that there was opportunity for collaboration between American capitalism and Socialist ideology?

A. That is right.

Q. Do you think that had anything to do with the change in the policy of the *Communist Party of the United States* insofar as it met in a session in New York and changed its name to *Communist Political Association*?

A. I don't think there is any question of it.

Q. Do you think the idea was an original one with Mr. Browder?

A. I think so.

Q. And concurred in by the rest of the membership of the Communist Party as a whole throughout the United States?

A. For a short time.

Q. For how long?

A. Approximately 18 months.

Q. And then did they decide they had been pursuing the wrong path?

A. That is correct.

Q. What brought that conclusion about, if you know?

A. Life itself, Mr. Combs, established that Mr. Browder's theory that the American capitalists were intelligent enough to realize that they should voluntarily increase the wages of the workers so that there would be no depression was not going to be borne out. The attempts at wage cuts, drives against labor, sabotage of the United Nations theory, the whole approach toward world collaboration certainly proved that Mr. Browder was pipe-dreaming.

Q. Up to that time, how long had he been in charge of the Communist Party?

A. I don't remember the exact date when Mr. Browder was elected general secretary of the Communist Party, but I would say that certainly within some 18 to 20 years that he had been in the leadership, probably more than that, of the American Communist Party.

Q. Yes. Do you read the *Daily Worker* of New York from time to time?

A. Regularly.

Q. That is the official publication of the Communist Party in New York, isn't it?

A. Do you have one present? I think it is established by the masthead.

Q. It says so, doesn't it?

A. I said the Masthead would establish the relationship to the Communist Party.

Q. Did you read the issue of May 21, 1945?

A. I think so.

Q. That is the one in which the Duclos letter appeared?

A. I certainly did.

Q. Who was Jacques Duclos?

A. Jacques Duclos was one of the leaders of the French Communist Party.

Q. Secretary, wasn't he, in 1945?

A. I can't state that as a fact. I don't know. I wouldn't be surprised. I know he is one of the leaders.

Q. Did you ever hear of Maurice Thorez?

A. Yes.

Q. Who is he?

A. He is one of the leaders, outstanding leaders, of the French Communist Party.

Q. Do you know where Jacques Duclos was during the German occupation of France?

A. I certainly do not.

Q. Did you ever read anything about his whereabouts?

A. No, I can't say I have.

Q. Did you ever read anything to the effect that he was a member of the Executive Committee of the Third International?

A. The Third International was dissolved before the war, so I doubt whether that had anything to do with his whereabouts.

Q. I didn't imply it did, but did you ever read that he had ever been a member of the Executive Committee of the Third International?

A. I can't say I remember his name identified with it, but I will say it wouldn't surprise me if he was one of the members of the Executive Committee of the Third International, inasmuch as he is one of the world's outstanding Communists.

The Chairman: If I may correct you, Mrs. Healy, the Third International (Comintern) was dissolved during the war, wasn't it?

The Witness: I doubt that. As I remember the Third International was dissolved before that, but as I say, I don't have any facts before me.

The Chairman: The date is a historical date and well established.

Q. (By Mr. Combs): You read the Duclos letter, did you not?

A. I did.

Q. The Duclos letter appeared in the May 24, 1945, issue of *The Daily Worker* and it had theretofore been published in a Communist magazine in France, had it not?

A. That is right.

Q. And in the article which appeared in the *Daily Worker* there was an introduction by Mr. Browder, wasn't there?

A. That is right.

Q. And isn't it true that Mr. Browder stated in effect, and I am quoting, "Unquestionably while this is a personal article by Jacques Duclos it reflects the general trend of opinion of European Marxists in relation to America and thus demands our most respectful attention"?

A. That is correct.

Q. The general tenor of the Duclos article was to take to task the American Communist Party for having engaged in what Mr. Duclos termed a notorious revisionism of Marxism?

A. That is right—an opinion which was later concurred in by the entire American Communist Party.

Q. I was coming to that. He went on to state, did he not, that Mr. Browder had committed a Marxian sin in predicting that there could be any collaboration between Socialism and American Capitalism?

A. Well, he certainly didn't use that terminology.

Q. I said, in effect?

A. Yes.

Q. Let me ask you if you recall this specific language: Duclos criticized the American Communists because their purpose was, and now I am quoting, "To make democracy work within the framework of the present system, which is a false concept of the ways of social revolution in the United States."

A. I would have to see that. I am sorry, I would have to see that. But I would presume it is correct.

Q. And that he repudiated Browder's policy of collaboration with American Democracy because "it swerved dangerously from the victorious Marxist-Leninist doctrine," and he continued to state, "The concept of a long term class peace in the United States, of the possibility of the suppression of the class-struggle in the postwar world, and the establishment of harmony between capital and labor, is a notorious revision of Marxism." Do you recall that language?

A. Yes.

Q. Now it was in January, 1944, to be exact, that the name of the Communist Party changed to the Communist Political Association, and at that time the record shows that Mr. Browder had been the leader of the party for 15 years; that five days before the Duclos article appeared, Mr. Browder celebrated his fifty-fourth birthday and the National Executive Board of the Communist Party in the *Daily Worker* for May 20, 1945, had this to say about it: "We express what all of us feel so deeply about you, the beloved leader of our movement," and he was praised for "his bold, mature Marxist leadership," and "we have the highest confidence that under your guidance we shall continue to make an honorable and vital contribution." Five days thereafter the Duclos letter appeared. It is the same national committee then accusing Browder of "a crassest form of opportunism, of being an advocate of reactionary capitalism and of dispensing intellectual trash in the name of Communism" and so forth, *Daily Worker*, May 25, 1945. What, in your opinion, occasioned that abrupt and sudden change-over from lavish praise on the occasion of Mr. Browder's birthday and 15 years of leadership to the castigation of him appearing simultaneously in the article five days later?

A. I challenge your facts as to its appearing five days later, because certainly all during the pre-convention discussion which went on nationally in our organization the discussion was primarily on the Duclos article, but considered expression not only of the leadership of the American Communist Party, but of the rest of the entire membership participating in this discussion.

Q. May I interrupt—I don't want to disturb your train of thought, but I want to qualify you. You were elected a delegate to the special convention in New York last year, were you not?

A. I was.

Q. When the Communist Political Association changed its name back again to the Communist Party?

A. I was.

Q. And did you attend the convention?

A. I did.

Q. When did you leave here for New York?

A. I haven't the slightest memory of that, Mr. Combs.

Q. About when?

A. I would say about five or six days before the convention was due to start.

Q. And you got there before the convention started?

A. A day ahead of time, yes.

Q. How did you travel?

A. By train.

Q. Did anyone go with you?

A. Yes, 10 delegates.

Q. Who were they?

A. Mr. Combs, I repeat again, I do not name other individuals.

Q. Weren't their names printed in the paper?

A. If they were you have that material. You don't have to ask me. You don't have to waste your time, my time, or the stenographer's time for that information.

Q. Do you remember who they were?

A. Certainly I remember all of them.

Q. You refuse to testify?

A. I will tell you. Bill Schneiderman was there. Mr. Sparks was a delegate.

Q. Ned Sparks?

A. That is right. As a matter of fact, I don't really remember all the other names of the delegates, but if I did remember them I am not at all certain that I would tell you, anyway.

Dorothy Healy is an important member of the Communist Party in California. She previously testified before the committee in San Francisco. She joined the Young Communist League when she was about 14 years of age, and thereafter affiliated with the Communist Party as an adult member. She has been arrested and spent time in jail for participating in various agitations throughout the agricultural areas of the State. At one time she was married to the brother of William Schneiderman, for many years Secretary of the *Communist Party of California*. She has taught in the Tom Mooney Labor School in San Francisco (1942). She has been an effective and important member of the Communist Party in this State for many years and as Secretary of the *Communist Party of Los Angeles County* she fills a position of trust and authority in county Communist activities. Her peculiar organizational talents have recently been utilized by an alleged educational institution in Los Angeles known as the People's Educational Center.

The record reveals, therefore, that Earl Browder, acting on specific Kremlin instructions produced *Tehera—Our Path in Peace and War*, proclaimed collaboration with American capitalists, changed the name of the *Communist Party of the United States* together with its revolutionary policy and, in short, did everything possible to appease American capital in return for aid to the Red Fatherland.

BROWDER'S DILEMMA

The Sixth Period of Communist strategy came to an end with the termination of the war. In conformance with the blueprints for world domination and conquest carefully mapped by Lenin and Stalin, the defeat of Hitler heralded the necessity for the revival of the old class antagonisms between the Communists and capitalist governments, and these antagonisms were resumed immediately with full vigor. An excuse to restore the *American Communist Party* to its full prewar revolutionary militancy had to be found. There were only two things that Earl Browder could possibly do. He either had to voluntarily admit that he had ideologically blundered in adopting his capitalist appeasement program, or submit himself to a critical attack on that ground by someone else. It would not have been expedient or convincing for the leader of the *American Communist Party* to raise his own voice in self-criticism, particularly after having persevered in his ideological error for 18 months. To suddenly have reversed himself would have thoroughly convinced the American public of the deceptive role he had played during the period of Soviet Russia's frantic need for military supplies and assistance. The ruse was shabby enough at best but Muskovite devotees and half-witted Soviet-Firsters must be kept in line for future Communist window-dressing. Browder was compelled to make the supreme sacrifice.

The *Communist Party of France* is probably the strongest arm of the Comintern outside of the Soviet Union. Stalin could hardly assume the responsibility in attacking Browder's "error" as the Comintern was still supposed to be nonexistent. Jacques Duclos, leader of the French Communist Party and confidant of the Kremlin for many years, was selected as the outstanding Marxist theologian to excoriate Browder for his heresy, and thus reestablish militant, revolutionary, prewar Communism in the United States. Consequently Duclos penned the critical article revealing Browder as a blundering Marxist who, caught in the toils of Capitalist luxury, had betrayed Saint Lenin, Uncle Joe, the hierarchy of old Bolsheviks (except those liquidated in Stalin's Blood Purges), and the "toiling masses." For 18 months prior to the Duclos epistle not a single American Communist voice had been raised in criticism of Browder's policy. For 18 long months every Communist from 13th Street in New York City to Sixth Street in Los Angeles beat their chests and their Marxist voodoo-drums in applause of Browder's brilliancy in outwitting Hearst, the Tenney Committee, and Capitalism in general. Five days before the appearance of the Duclos letter, as has been seen, Comrade Browder was swamped with congratulatory messages from all over the United States on the occasion of his birthday. He was lavishly praised by the big Commissars and the little comrades for his 15 years of "outstanding Marxist leadership." While Communism itself is indicative of a neurotic condition, it is simply inconceivable that its followers were such complete idiots as not to have suspected that Comrade Browder was on the wrong track for 18 long months. Certainly one or two of the comrades must have noticed that Comrade Browder was "off the beam." If an American Communist mentioned Comrade Browder's alleged aberration during this period there certainly is no record of the fact. It took the Duclos epistle to do the trick. Five days after heaping praise and adulation on America's "outstanding Marxist leader," a short letter from a Frenchman struck with lightning

force into the dormant minds of the American Communists. Most amazingly, it struck instantaneously, simultaneously and contemporaneously, and extemporaneously brought every comrade to his feet with but a single idea: *Browder has been wrong!* For 18 long months they had been his dupes; they had been hypnotized, while Marx, Lenin, Stalin, and the "toiling masses" had been sold down the river to Hearst and Capitalism.

The lines had been read and the play was over.

It is significant to note that Browder has not shared the fate of Jay Lovestone or Leon Trotsky. As yet there are no hated "Browderites" to take their places with the Lovestoneites and Trotskyites. This fact is the real tip-off on the ruse played by Joseph Stalin and his stooges in the United States.

Browder dutifully made a new pilgrimage to Moscow and finally emerged as a Soviet book-salesman, at last properly registered as the agent of a foreign government with the State Department of the United States.

The pressing need for Communist collaboration with American capital had passed. Browder, the heroic scapegoat, had played his part. He was removed from his high position of leadership and replaced by militant William Z. Foster, who immediately restored the party to its former blood and thunder role. The old revolutionary hymn of hate is again being sung by the revived *Communist Party of the United States of America*. The party's educational institutions are mushrooming throughout the country; Communist front organizations and transmission belts are being created for every possible phase of American life and the process of infiltrating Communists into strategic positions in government, labor, American social and economic life is being revived with fanatical zeal.

THE COMINTERN

In light of the foregoing it should be reiterated here that the *Communist Third International (Comintern)* was not dissolved in 1943 as announced by Moscow. Documentary proof was produced by Igor Gouzenko consisting of official records of the Soviet Embassy in Ottawa. These documents were turned over to Canadian officials, and they prove conclusively that the Comintern continues to function with accelerated activity; directing, correlating and coordinating the treasonable work of every Communist Party in the world and, moreover, that it is being utilized as a master instrument in Soviet espionage.

"BROWDERITES" WITHOUT BROWDER

There is every reason to believe that, during his 15 years as the Chief Communist Commissar in the United States, Browder developed a personal following of party members. Many of these comrades, because of their personal admiration for Browder, committed the unpardonable sin of continuing to agree with his policies even after he was deprived of his position and was succeeded by William Z. Foster in 1945. It was, of course, manifestly impractical for the rank-and-file Communists of the United States to be informed of the real reason for the Duclos attack on Browder with the attendant "correction" of the "errors" that had allegedly been committed by him. Consequently the party members who

unwittingly continued their support of Browder's appeasement policies were summarily expelled when Foster replaced Browder. Announcement of such expulsions was made public in some instances. Many of the ordinary rank-and-file members, imbued, perhaps, with some degree of instinctive intellectual honesty, have either resigned in protest or have been expelled quietly because they continued to express bewilderment for this sudden twist in the party line.

Most prominent among the individuals who have severed their connections with the Communist Party is Louis Budenz, a charter member of the party and one-time editor of the monthly ideological magazine, *The Communist*. Budenz was a member of the editorial staff of the *New York Daily Worker*, the national organ of the *Communist Party of the United States*. When his resignation was made public the news created a distinct upheaval in Communist Party circles, and, of course, Budenz has been attacked by the Communist press and the "smear" squads with the usual viciousness reserved for such cases. Since severing his connections with the party he has been teaching political science at Fordham University and is doing a real public service in exposing the traitorous activities of the Communist Party and its members in the United States.

In San Francisco, Vern Smith, a Communist of many years standing and former political and labor news editor of the *People's Daily World*, was summarily dismissed from the staff of the Communist periodical on August 28, 1946. On the following day, the same publication carried the news of Smith's expulsion from the Communist Party.

It is not difficult to understand why the abrupt and inconsistent changes of the Communist Party line throws the rank-and-file membership of the party into a state of bewildered confusion. During the period of the Hitler-Stalin Pact (August, 1939, to June, 1941), the members of the party had been told that it was perfectly possible for the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany to collaborate. When Germany invaded the Soviet Union the American Communists were then told that the war had assumed an entirely different character; that the imperialist war had become a "people's war." The more honest Communists must have believed that someone had committed a mistake by believing such collaboration possible in the first place. Every Communist had been indoctrinated with the idea that Capitalism and Communism were deadly enemies and that it was a fight to the finish with no quarter asked or given until one or the other conquered. Without warning Comrade Browder announced that Capitalism and Communism could get on very well together and apparently all the little comrades believed it. No one appeared to challenge his statement for 18 months. A French Communist, 3,000 miles away, suddenly awakened to the strange love-fest going on in America between the Communists and the Capitalists and started screaming that such collaboration is a Marxist sin and that Comrade Browder is a half-wit for ever having conceived such an idea. Obviously the Duclos denunciation carried the implication that the American Communists had been as half-witted as their half-witted leader in following him. Ignoring the contemptuous implication of the Duclos criticism, the Communist sheep raced to New York, liquidated the *Communist Political Association*, deposed poor old blundering Browder, reestablished the *Communist Party of the United States* and applauded the fine Marxism of Commissar Foster, who had followed right along

behind Comrade Browder during the Communist-Capitalist marriage, now duly annulled. The delegates returned to their respective spheres of influence, resumed their hostility toward American institutions, intensified their technique of fomenting strikes, racial antagonism, confusion and chaos; frantically renewed the distribution of the familiar mimeographed propaganda sheets and now continue to do their level best in creating upheaval for the purpose of "softening up" our government for the time when Comrade Stalin is ready for the kill.

The committee is aware of the repercussions and confusion that ran up and down the State of California as a result of the twists and turns in the Communist Party line, together with the attendant resignations and expulsions of dissident members from the Community Party. The hard, militant, thoroughly indoctrinated and disciplined core of Communist professional revolutionary cadres remain intact. The committee finds, as a matter of fact, that the Communist Party in California has emerged from its recent controversies stronger and more militant than ever before.

The committee believes that the American public, long suffering and tolerant of things Communistic, has been recently electrified into sudden appreciation of the real and imminent danger of Communist activity in the State of California and in the United States. The committee is of the opinion that the international situation is largely responsible for altered public opinion on Communism in general and the Soviet Union in particular.

The committee, in former reports, has emphasized a fundamental aspect of Communist theory embodied in the "day-to-day struggle" technique. The continuous application of the principles involved in this technique constitutes an undermining erosion of capitalist institutions and governments. The present period of Communist strategy will intensify this technique, and every economic and social problem will be magnified and ballooned out of all proportion to its real importance.

In discussing the Sixth Period of Communist strategy in the United States, the committee, at page 102 of its 1945 Report made this prophetic statement:

"The sixth period of Communist strategy in the United States may have ended with the Teheran Conference and the frantic name-changing in official Communist Party organizations. The committee is entirely too close to the picture at this writing to definitely state whether the sixth period closed with this event or whether it was a logical development of the same period. Whether it was merely a continuance of the sixth period or the ushering in of the seventh, the committee states unequivocally that a new period in Communist strategy in the United States will begin when the war is concluded. The Communists of America have carefully laid the ground work and are prepared for the events that are to come. They expect social upheaval and economic disruption to follow in the wake of war. They believe that there will be a bitter and discontented people throughout this broad country of ours; widespread unemployment, rising prices and staggering public debts. Hundreds of thousands of war veterans will be attempting to adjust themselves to civil life. The ground-work for race riots is already laid. There will be con-

fusion and chaos. Hundreds of thousands of workers will be discharged from closing wartime factories, swelling the army of the unemployed. They believe they will be in a position to foment dissension. The Communists of the United States and of the world have a program. Although, as has been shown in this report, there is nothing 'scientific' about Marxism, it is, nevertheless a blueprint for revolution."

FUTURE COMMUNIST ACTIVITY

The American people are now faced with the greatest agitational activity in the history of American Communism. If our country is unfortunately plunged into a new economic depression accompanied by widespread unemployment, the Communists will take full advantage of the situation, will foment strikes, strife and unrest on a scale that has never before been experienced in the United States.

There is a ray of hope, however, shining through the dark clouds of Communist intrigue—the awakening of the American people to the real character of international Communism. During its 27 years of activity in the United States the Communist Party has been able to make progress, not because the American people were sympathetic to, or understood, Communism, but merely because they were woefully apathetic about it. The committee believes that this apathy is rapidly diminishing. There is a growing alertness in the public mind. The American public is beginning to recognize the professional Communist revolutionary for what he actually is—the agent of a foreign government, mouthing allegiance to the Constitution and the Government of the United States, while working industriously for the destruction of both.

The people of California are becoming more and more familiar with the transmission-belt front organization of Communist creation. As the committee has gathered facts in public hearings in various parts of the State, the people, through the press, have become familiar with the same old Communist names that parade through the multitudinous network of Communist fronts. It is not mere coincidence that the names of the same individuals consistently appear on the letterheads and literature of a long list of Communist front organizations. The public hearings and reports of the committee have brought this indisputable fact to the attention of Californians. There are few thoughtful people who are laboring under any illusion as to the real character and nature of such organizations as the *Hollywood Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions*, the *Political Action Committee of the C. I. O.*, the *National Lawyers' Guild*, the *People's Educational Center* or the *California Labor School*. The relatively ineffectual efforts of these organizations in propagandizing the electorate during the 1946 election campaigns in this State demonstrate that the Communists are finding it more and more difficult to delude the voting public of California through the media of such organizations.

THE FBI ON COMMUNISM

In spite of the progress made in exposing the Machiavellian activities of the *Communist Party of the United States*, the committee is convinced that the real struggle for the preservation of American principles,

the Constitution and the American way of life is just beginning. No less authority than J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, in his address before the 1946 National Convention of the American Legion in San Francisco, excoriated the Communist Party and told the American people, through the veterans, in unmistakable terms, that the Communist Party constitutes a real menace to the United States.

THE TROJAN HORSE CAVALRY

In view of the necessity of maintaining rigid disciplinary control of innumerable front organizations, Communist leaders now find themselves faced with a dilemma. The committees of the California Legislature and the Congress of the United States have, for many years, exposed key Communists and fellow-travelers in Stalin's solar system in the United States and California. The continuous use of the names of the same old familiar Communists and fellow-travelers as key figures in the Trojan Horse cavalry has become a Communist liability rather than an asset. Many have been used so many times that they are badly frayed and shop-worn. Carey McWilliams and Paul Robeson constitute a hammer-and-sickle on letterheads or sponsor lists of any new front. The general public has learned to recognize the Stalin trade-mark and comparatively few patriotic Americans are now being duped when the Communist Party parades its Trojan Horse cavalry.

The Communist Party must control the activities of the organization it creates, and, while new functionaries are being prepared yearly, it takes time to develop box-office appeal. Mere fellow-travelers, innocents and dim-wits of the Moskovite aberration, while valuable for ordinary window-dressing, are not to be trusted with the destiny of a Communist inspired front organization. An iron-disciplined professional revolutionary is required for this sort of a job. The Communist Party has been giving considerable study to this dilemma, but, at this writing, it has little choice in the matter. Consequently, until new glamorized functionaries are developed, the American public may expect to accurately spot new Communist front organizations by the usual method of scrutinizing letterheads containing the names of sponsors, endorsers, directors and contributors.

During the six years in which the *Committee on Un-American Activities in California* has been active it has accumulated a mass of documentary material on Communist front organizations. The committee has found that, year after year, the same small group appears in one capacity or another in the myriad of California fronts.

The *Hollywood Writers Mobilization*, the *People's Educational Center*, the *Hollywood Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Science and Professions* and the *Mobilization for Democracy* are described with some detail in this report. It will be seen that many of the same key individuals have been selected to appear on the sponsoring list of each of these organizations, or are connected with each of them in some capacity.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY IN LOS ANGELES COUNTY

The committee had endeavored for several years to subpoena Elizabeth Leech Glenn, an allegedly important Communist Party functionary in Los Angeles County. The committee had known for some time that

Mrs. Glenn was entrusted with the financial affairs of the party in Los Angeles County. After considerable difficulty a process server for the committee was successful in serving Mrs. Glenn while she was engaged in conversation with the operator of the Lincoln Book Store in Hollywood. The Lincoln Book Store, incidentally, is the Hollywood center for the dissemination of Communist Party literature.

Mrs. Glenn duly appeared before the committee at its Los Angeles public hearing in October, 1946. She testified that she was in full charge of the financial affairs of the Communist Party of Los Angeles County. She stated that she had been affiliated with the Northwest Section of the Communist Party for several years and that, in addition, she was a member of the Elizabeth Gurley Flynn Club, the Hollywood section of the Communist Party. The Northwest Section was described as comprising the area including and surrounding Hollywood.

She testified that she received monthly dues from all of the Communists in her jurisdiction and that these dues constituted a considerable portion of the party's revenue. She stated that the party was largely financed through collections and donations made at forums, lectures, social affairs, etc. It was her duty to forward 50 percent of the membership dues to the national office of the Communist Party in New York. The state office of the party in San Francisco received 15 percent and the county organization retained 15 percent while the sections of the party within her jurisdiction retained 10 percent, and 10 percent went to the clubs.

The committee learned that there are presently in Los Angeles County eight Communist Party sections maintaining approximately 160 active clubs. It was learned from other witnesses that each club is composed of the Communist Party members in a particular neighborhood. Meetings of these organizations are held, for the greater part, in private residences; the meeting places being changed frequently in order that the activities of the club be kept secret.

Mrs. Glenn's testimony, in part, follows:

Q. (By Mr. Combs) : Do you know George Sandy?

A. Yes.

Q. He is a member of the party, isn't he?

A. I don't know. He has been out of Los Angeles for several months now so that I don't know what his present status is.

Q. But he was a member in 1944, was he not?

A. I don't remember when Sandy came back to Los Angeles. It was some time in the last couple of years when he came back. He was a member of the party.

Q. Calling your attention to this incident. It might refresh your memory. You and George Sandy ran the Communist Party office here at the headquarters when the staff went to the national convention in June of 1944, didn't you?

A. That is right.

Q. So he was a member then, was he not?

A. Yes.

Q. You remember that incident, don't you?

A. Yes.

Q. How long did you and Mr. Sandy run the office?

A. For a couple of weeks while the delegation was in New York.

Mrs. Glenn further testified that she had been intimately acquainted with John Howard Lawson for several years; that her mother and Mr. Lawson's wife came from the same town and that she was a frequent visitor at the Lawson home.

COMMUNIST PARTY IN ALAMEDA COUNTY

John C. Taylor, a charter member of the *Communist Party of the United States*, testified before the committee at its Oakland hearing. Mr. Taylor's testimony, in part, follows:

Q. (By Mr. Combs): Now, then, at the time that you affiliated in 1919, as you have testified, the Comintern or Third International was formed at Moscow. What was the purpose of that organization?

A. To coordinate the Communists or the ideologies of the different countries.

Q. In the countries in the world where a Communist Party existed, isn't that true?

A. Yes.

Q. And each Communist Party in the various countries in the world was known after the formation of the Comintern as a section of the Comintern?

A. They affiliated—I don't know whether you would call it a section.

Q. Don't you remember in the constitution and the books and the old masthead of the *Western Worker* before 1937; the legends on the books and the constitution and the masthead of that paper said, "*Communist Party of the United States of America*, a section of the *Communist International*"?

A. I guess that's right.

Q. And I guess that's true of the parties throughout the world, Canada, England and throughout the world, isn't that true?

(Witness nods head affirmatively.)

* * * * *

Q. Did you ever meet Earl Browder?

A. I've met him occasionally at meetings.

Q. Have you read his writings on Marxism?

A. I have.

Q. He was editor of the *Daily Worker* in New York, wasn't he, the official Communist newspaper for New York?

A. Secretary-general of the Communist Party in the United States.

Q. Yes, for 14 years, wasn't he?

A. Yes.

Q. And was considered an expert on dialectic materialism, wasn't he?

A. Considered an expert? He was leader of the Communist movement, yes.

Q. Yes. Do you recall the book that he wrote called "*Tehera—Our Path in Peace and War*"?

A. I read the book.

Q. Did you agree with its philosophy?

A. I did.

Q. Do you agree with the philosophy expressed in the book now?

A. A great deal of it.

Q. Now, the book appeared late in '43 or early in '44, did it not?

A. '43, I believe.

Q. I think so, but I'm not sure. And it was written after the conference at Teheran between Marshall Stalin and the President of the United States and the Premier of Great Britain, isn't that true?

A. Right.

Q. And in the book the basic philosophy of it was the urging of cooperation and collaboration between the capitalist nations of the world, particularly in this country, and the socialist countries, particularly the Soviet Union, against a common enemy, isn't that true?

A. Yes, that's right.

Q. And Mr. Browder advocated that the Communist Party dissolve itself as a political organization and thenceforth function under another name as a Communist political association, isn't that true?

A. Right.

Q. And in conformity with the advocacy, the party did change its name to the Political Association, didn't it?

A. Right.

Q. And the Young Communist League shortly thereafter became known as the American Youth for Democracy?

A. Yes.

Q. And the magazine became known as *Political Affairs*, isn't that right?

A. Right.

Q. And despite the fact that those proposals were agreed upon and adopted and followed and there was collaboration and cooperation, at least to a degree, between the two forces; that is, capitalism on the one hand and Communism on the other hand, during the period of the war; all those ideologies had always been considered antagonistic to each other; after the war a Frenchman by the name of Jacques Duclos wrote a critical letter and called him (Browder) a traitor to Marxism; the letter was published in the newspaper, and the functionary of the party (Browder) was expelled because he had betrayed the Marxist dogma, and Mr. Foster was put in his place?

A. He was expelled from the party.

Q. Why was he expelled?

A. For lack of cooperation.

Q. Wasn't any reason given for his expulsion other than just lack of cooperation?

A. Well, he refused to abide by the will of the majority, and, therefore, he naturally was out.

Q. Mr. Taylor, do you recall he had a birthday five days before he was expelled?

A. I don't recall that.

Q. And he received congratulatory letters and wires from Communist functionaries all over the United States congratulating him on his brilliant 14 years of Marxist leadership, Duclos—I presume you know who he was?

A. I do.

Q. Secretary of the Communist——

A. Yes.

Q. And the Executive Secretary of the Third International?

A. Yes.

Q. The minute that letter hit, the same people that congratulated Browder on his brilliant Marxist leadership turned on him in a pack and expelled him from the party. Do you believe that this sudden change in their attitude was prompted by their understanding of dialectic materialism or Mr. Duclos' letter?

A. Well, it's a subject you can't answer yes or no.

Q. I'm asking your opinion, just your personal idea. You said that you agreed with some of the philosophy that Mr. Browder expressed in his book; that you still agreed with it, and I think a great many people in the party, at least as far as I am able to discover, are in accord with many of them. Do you believe he was right? What I'm trying to do: You are, Mr. Taylor, a charter member of the party, and I would like your own opinion as to why Mr. Browder was expelled. Was it because Duclos wrote his critical letter from France or was it because that all of a sudden there came a realization on the part of the Marxist leaders that Mr. Browder had indeed been on the wrong track?

A. The whole world situation was changing and needed revision after the war was over and the death of Roosevelt, primarily, that it made these vast changes.

* * * * *

Q. We're equally sure of this in any event: Prior to the Duclos letter Browder had not received any criticism because of his stand. On the contrary, he had received great congratulations from the party members in this country, and we are positive it was not until Mr. Duclos' letter hit the United States and appeared in the Communist paper that the criticism of Mr. Browder's policy originated?

A. It came at that moment when things were in a state of flux and brought the whole matter up for survey.

Q. That is, the Duclos letter brought the matter up for survey, is that your testimony?

A. Right.

COMMUNIST PROTECTION OF SECRET MEMBERS

Lloyd Lehmann, Chairman of the Communist Party of Alameda County, stated that he had attended San Jose College and that he had resided in Santa Clara County. He had joined the Young Communist League and was the Secretary of the *United Cannery, Packing and Allied Workers of America*, C. I. O.

The committee believes that a portion of Lehmann's testimony merits space in this report as it clearly indicates the evasive technique utilized by members of the Communist Party to protect the identity of other members. Lehmann's testimony also strongly indicates the conspiratorial atmosphere which cloaks all Communist activities.

Q. (By Mr. Combs): * * * Now, how long have you been Chairman of the *Communist Party of Alameda County*?

A. About six months.

Q. By what body or bodies were you elected to that position?

A. By the county committee.

Q. How many members are on the county committee?

A. It fluctuates. Some people are out of town and some people are gone. I don't recollect how many people were involved in that.

Q. Give us your best approximation, will you please?

A. I'm sorry, I can't recollect the number that would be a very good approximation.

Q. Did you ever attend a meeting of the council?

A. County committee?

Q. County committee, yes.

A. Yes, I attend meetings.

Q. Where do they meet?

A. Various places.

Q. Where was the last place they met when you were there?

A. The last place they met was at my house.

Q. In what room of your house was the meeting held, the living room or kitchen?

A. Living room.

Q. In the living room. And about what is the size of that room?

A. I forget the dimensions.

Q. Well, approximately?

A. I've even forgotten the approximate dimensions.

Q. Less than one foot long?

A. Oh, yes, an ordinary sized living room.

Q. Say about 30 feet, somewhere along in there?

A. Yes—smaller than that.

A. And not more than 20 feet wide?

A. No.

Q. All right. Now, how many members of the committee were absent on that occasion?

A. I don't recollect.

Q. Give us your best recollection.

A. I don't recall.

Q. Was it a fair attendance or a good attendance or a bad attendance, or an average attendance?

A. It wasn't a particularly good attendance.

Q. An average attendance?

A. Well, if you want to call it an average attendance you can—it's up to you.

Q. I don't want to call it anything. I'm trying to get from you about how many people were there. We've got it in a room which is pretty close to the——

A. I didn't count them.

Q. I'm not going to ask you for their names. All I want to know is if you can say 10, 15, 20, 40 or 50. I think we're close enough in the record.

A. That's all right.

Q. Now, when the meeting was held——

Chairman Tenney: Were there more than 20?

A. No, I doubt if there were more than 20.

Q. Were there more than 10?

A. I don't know for sure.

Q. Would you say there were less than 10?

A. I say I don't know for sure.

Q. You were there?

A. I was there.

Q. You are not trying to be evasive?

A. That's up to you to decide.

Q. I think it would appear you are being very evasive.

A. O. K.

Q. Would you say there were 15?

A. I have given the only answer I can give.

Vice Chairman Dickey: Then the chair will instruct you to give to the best of your judgment the number of people who were present.

A. Uh huh (affirmative)—you say the chair is directing me to give it to the best of my recollection?

Q. The chair is directing you to give the number of people that were present to the best of your recollection and judgment.

A. Well, I would say some place between seven and twenty.

Lehmann further testified that the headquarters of the Communist Party in Alameda County was located at 1723 Webster Street in the City of Oakland. He identified his secretary as Bernice Kalman. He admitted that the Communist Party of Alameda County assumed part of the responsibility in raising funds for the *People's Daily World*. He identified the Merriam Club as a Communist Party organization and stated that it was located in Berkeley drawing its members mostly from

the students at the *University of California*. He also identified the Haldane Club as a Communist Party unit in Berkeley similarly drawing its membership from university students.

The committee had obtained an official statement of the quarterly financial record of the Communist Party for Alameda County. The document in question was signed by Eugene Toopekoff. A further sample of Lehmann's evasive technique is of interest:

Q. (By Mr. Combs): What is the name of the individual, for the record?

A. You read it if you want it in the record.

Q. Eugene Toopekoff, T-o-o-p-e-k-o-f-f. That individual was a functionary in the party in this county, was he not?

A. A functionary? What do you mean by a functionary, Mr. Combs?

Q. I mean he held an office.

A. Well, just offhand so that there won't be anything in the record that shouldn't be there, I'm not sure exactly what basis he worked with the party leadership in.

Q. You're not sure?

A. Exactly what basis his status was on.

Q. But he did work with the party leadership, didn't he? You just said that you're not sure on what basis he worked with the party leadership.

A. Yes, I know what I said.

Q. Did he work with the party leadership?

A. Well, Mr. Combs, I don't want to carry through this charge that the press had against me of being evasive or make your job particularly any tougher for you than I possibly can.

The witness utilized several pages of testimony in the committee's transcript in his efforts to dodge the question. After many reprimands by the chairman of the committee, the vice chairman and several members, vice chairman Dickey, who was presiding, bluntly ordered the witness to answer. The result is as follows:

Q. (By Vice Chairman Dickey): As I understand the record now, Mr. Combs, in response to your questions, the reply so far is that Mr. Lehmann is not sure what official capacity this Mr. Toopekoff—is that the way you pronounce that?—had.

Mr. Combs: The exact status of the record with regard to that particular line of question, Mr. Chairman, is this: That the witness testified, and it's on the record, that he was not sure of the exact capacity that Eugene Toopekoff held when he worked with the leadership of the *Communist Party of Alameda County*. Then I asked him if it is true he worked with the leadership of Alameda County, and he has not yet answered the question.

The Witness: That has to do with financial arrangements doesn't it?

Vice Chairman Dickey: The question was propounded to you with regard to the individual's name, whether he worked with the party or not.

Mr. Combs: With the leadership of the party.

Vice Chairman Dickey: With the leadership of the party. You stated in response to Mr. Combs' question you didn't know his exact capacity.

Q: (By Mr. Combs): My question now is whether he did work with the leadership of the party in any capacity?

A. Well, speaking of finances?

Vice Chairman Dickey: That isn't the question.

The Witness: I mean this whole document has to do with finances.

Vice Chairman Dickey: We're not speaking of the document.

The Witness: He showed me the document a few minutes ago, and the name is appended to the document.

Vice Chairman Dickey: Mr. Lehmann, are you going to answer the question or not?

The Witness: My intention is to answer all the questions propounded to me in the best way I possibly can, but it seems to me when you're speaking of finances here, that the appropriation for this Tenney Committee ought to be listed as part of the Republican campaign expenses.

Vice Chairman Dickey: I don't want to get tough with you, but the chair is going to direct you in about a minute to answer the question. I don't know if you think you're a clown, or smart, or what, but the chair is getting a little disgusted with your acts. Now answer the question "Yes" or "No."

The Witness: You asked me if you think I'm a clown. I think there are some clowns around here and for politeness' sake I won't identify them.

Q. (By Mr. Combs): Will you answer the question?

A. Mr. Toopekoff, was he in any way connected with the leadership of the Party?

Q. Whether he ever worked with it.

A. Whether he ever worked with it? Well, if you use a very broad definition of "work with it," I presume that you could include him in that category.

Q. Did he work with the leadership of the party in Alameda County in March, 1946?

A. My recollection isn't very good on that subject, Mr. Combs.

Q. All right. Did he work with the leadership of the party in 1946?

A. Well, I could better identify it in 1945 and '46.

Q. What part of '45?

A. The latter part.

Q. Where is he now?

A. I haven't seen the gentleman for months.

Q. How many months?

A. My memory is vague. That's the reason why I can't answer you these questions here.

Q. Where was he when you last saw him?

A. Some place in Oakland, if that would help you any.

Q. Did he live in Alameda County at that time?

A. Yeah, I presume he did. I never asked him.

Q. You've seen him within the last 12 months, have you not?

A. Yeah, within the last 12 months I've seen him.

Q. Have you seen him at 1723 Webster Street?

A. Yeah, that could have been one of the places.

Q. That, of course, is the headquarters of the county for the Communist Party?

A. Yeah, there's more rooms in that building than just the headquarters.

Q. Yes, the *Daily World* is there, it was testified to here yesterday.

The quarterly financial report of the Communist Party of Alameda County showed a balance of \$229.29 on hand as of February 28, 1946, with a deficit shown for the quarter ending March 31, 1946, in the sum of \$2,466.01. Twenty-two new Communist Party members had been admitted, each recruit paying 50 cents for the privilege. The report showed 15 percent of the total county dues being retained by the party in Alameda County amounting to \$54.69. Contributions were listed at \$773.77 of which \$95.05 had been received from meetings and Communist affairs of various kinds. \$180 had been loaned to the party. \$237.07 was purported to represent 65 percent of the dues collected from the members in the county, to be turned over to the state organization in San Francisco. In addition to this amount the document revealed that it paid the sum of \$200 per month to the state organization. Five regular office employees were reported for the Oakland headquarters, receiving a total weekly salary of \$192.50.

The sections of the Communist Party in Alameda County were listed as follows: Berkeley Section, Closed Section, West Oakland Section, East Oakland Section, North Oakland Section and Individual Section. Each of these subdivisions was broken up into clubs, as had been stated by both Lehmann and Taylor when questioned before the committee. The clubs were listed as follows: Berkeley, Bloor, Southwest Berkeley, Cordonices, H. Boettcher, North Berkeley, Central Berkeley, Haldane, M. Smolen, Abe Lincoln, Art Young, Bethune, J. Hill, J. Debs, West Oakland, B. Davis, D. Muller, F. Brown, East Oakland, Alameda, Elmhurst, Whitney, Hayward, Eastlake, Fairfax, North Oakland, Montclair, Ocean View, B. Doyle, S. Nelson, and J. Taylor.

The document indicated that the *Communist Party of Alameda County* owed the International Book Store, San Francisco, \$125.45 for the distribution of Communist literature. The *People's Daily World* was down for \$88.40.

Lehmann was undoubtedly thoroughly flabbergasted and concerned when confronted with this very secret Communist Party document. He examined it for fully 15 minutes while he sat in the witness stand, turning it over, page by page. It should be stated that such documents are guarded by Communist Party functionaries with the utmost care and that such reports are never kept at party headquarters.

The Alameda County Communist Party functionaries would give a lot to know where the committee secured the document.

EVERY AMERICAN COMMUNIST A POTENTIAL TRAITOR

Immediately prior to, and during the war, the American public was alerted to the danger of espionage and sabotage activities on the part of German and Japanese agents. As a result of this real and imminent danger both alien and American-born Japanese were excluded from the Western Defense Command for the duration of the war, and such German-controlled organizations as the *German-American Bund* were completely liquidated and their members, in many instances, deprived of citizenship rights. These measures were deemed imperative for the safety of the Nation, its strategic military bases, the movement of troops and supplies, war industries and the American people in general.

Since the close of the war the committee has observed, not without alarm, the gradual spread of the sphere of Russian influence throughout the ravished countries of Europe. In Italy the Communist Party grows stronger; in France the government is in danger of control by Stalin's agents; George Dimitrov, former executive secretary of the Comintern and author of the Communist Trojan Horse tactic, heads a 100 percent Communist government in Bulgaria, while in Yugoslavia, under Communist Tito, the Stalinites are firmly entrenched. The Red shadow is rapidly creeping across prostrate Europe, carrying with it the dreaded N. K. V. D., the secret police of Red Fascism. The world has never before seen such an elaborate, highly disciplined and smoothly operating system of espionage as the Communist Government has perfected during the past 27 years. The activities of well trained agents in every country on the face of the globe are directed and coordinated by the dictator in the Kremlin. The Canadian experience with agents of the Soviet government resulting in the conviction by Canadian courts of Canadian-born traitors is an indication of the network of Soviet espionage.

We have seen from the writings of Lenin and Stalin that there can never be any hope of reconciliation between the Communists and Democratic governments. The Canadian experience reveals the intense post-war campaign of propaganda on the part of the Comintern. Through the controlled channels of information in Russia the Soviet masters are creating hatred in the minds and hearts of the Russian people for everything foreign; for Western Democracy, and particularly for the Government of the United States.

The committee is firmly convinced that this current period—the Seventh Period of Communist strategy in the United States—is the most critical period of all. The American people must be awakened to the fact that every member of the American Communist Party is a potential espionage and sabotage agent for the Soviet Government. Our people must realize, now more than ever before, that it is the admitted and avowed purpose of Moscow to create and foster a Communist revolution in every Capitalist Democracy in the world.

MOBILIZATION FOR DEMOCRACY

Fomenting racial prejudices and antagonisms is an important tactic in the Communist Party "day-to-day struggle" technique. In reporting on this fiendish activity of the Communist Party, the committee stated at page 209 of its 1945 Report:

"Vicious agitation, subtle conspiratorial intrigue, adroit manipulation of human relationships, skillful play upon prejudices and antagonisms—that is the devilish pattern woven by revolutionary Marxists * * * Disrespect for law and order, and for the economic system it protects, is interwoven carefully throughout. Rearing its ugly head in sneering triumph over the havoc it has wrought is the monster who prepared and spread the poison—now posing as the champion of those it victimized."

The *Communist Party* has always maintained a considerable number of front organizations devoted to racial agitation. While always purporting to stand as the champion of minority racial groups, the real purpose of this type of organization is to *intensify* racial antagonisms, thus creating ethnic class consciousness. By a clever process of amalgamation the Communist Party directs this artificially created race-consciousness toward the extant social order and its government, drawing the several racial groups into its orbit of influence and thus preparing the coals they intend to fan into revolutionary fire when the opportunity presents itself. Among the Communist front organizations for racial agitation may be mentioned the *American Committee for the Protection of Foreign-Born*, *American Committee of Jewish Writers, Artists, and Scientists*, *American Committee to Save Refugees*, *Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee*, *American Friends of the Chinese People*, *Chicago Conference on Race Relations*, *First Congress of the Mexican and Spanish-American Peoples of the United States*, *Jewish People's Committee*, *League of Struggle for Negro Rights*, *National Committee to Abolish Poll Tax*, *Negro Cultural Committee*, *National Negro Women's Council*, *Sleepy Lagoon Defense Committee*, and the *Citizens Committee for the Defense of Mexican-American Youth*.

In addition to stirring up racial antagonisms these front organizations serve several other important *Communist Party* purposes. To begin with they are splendid money collecting media, but more important, they serve as special political organizing centers for the racial minority they pretend to champion.

Communist front organizations for racial agitation must necessarily find an excuse for their existence. Evidence of discrimination because of race, color or creed must be found or invented. Hitler's persecution of the Jews in Central Europe and evidences of anti-Semitism in the United States have been a bonanza for the Communists in the United States and California. They have worked this terror for all it is worth and were

going strong in anti-Nazi leagues until the Boss in the Kremlin put his stamp of approval on the Nazi's bloody program in August of 1939. Negro lynchings in the southern states have been the basis of a lucrative field for Communists race-fronts. Alleged police brutality against Negro citizens is always good for a small Communist front or two and every such incident is featured in the Communist press as the rise of a new "white supremacy" terror.

The committee is not here depreciating the evil of racial and religious discrimination. It has consistently, in every report submitted to the Legislature, condemned anti-Semitism and racial discrimination in all of its forms as un-American. While intolerance in this respect exists in many parts of our country the committee is convinced that it exists to a lesser degree in California than in many other parts of the United States. The majority of the people of California appears to be motivated by a high sense of tolerance, and the committee finds that racial intolerance is the exception rather than the rule. Very few vestiges of organized anti-Semitism, racial or religious bigotry remain in California. It is not here contended that ignorant racial prejudices cannot be utilized by a designing racketeer or fanatical crusader to create organized intolerance. It has been done, and it can be done again. The committee recognizes its dangers and holds its advocates and purposes fully as despicable and un-American as the Communist Party has proved itself to be in its incessant interracial agitation.

BEHIND THE FEPC

Early in 1945 it became apparent to the Communist Party leaders in California that a political organization capable of drawing ethnical groups into its sphere of influence was necessary to supplement the work of its other fronts. The Communist inspired *Fair Employment Practices Act* (FEPC) was to be launched as a rallying point for racial minorities and the *Communist Party* hoped to mobilize these groups at the polls in the 1946 elections and thus carry their own candidates with an overwhelming vote for the initiative measure.

Committee investigators made an exhaustive study of the tracts, pamphlets, dodgers, handbills and miscellaneous literature issued by the *Southern California Committee for the Promotion of the Fair Employment Practices Act* (FEPC), generally referred to in the 1946 elections as Proposition Number 11. The committee learned that of the 63 sponsors and officers of the Committee for Proposition Number 11 more than one-half had been prominent in movements sponsored by the Communists and left-wingers in California.

Augustus F. Hawkins, Assemblyman from the Sixty-second Assembly District in Los Angeles County, was listed as the executive director of the committee.

Hawkins has consistently followed the Communist Party line. In 1943 he endorsed a drive for funds for the West Coast organ of the Communist Party, the *People's Daily World*. In 1942 he publicly urged the release of Earl Browder, then National Secretary of the Communist Party in the United States. (Browder, at that time, was serving a four-year sentence in a federal penitentiary). Hawkins is one of a handful of Assemblymen in the California Legislature who has consistently voted

against this committee investigating un-American activities in the State. In 1943 he succeeded Oscar Fuss, former functionary in the Communist dominated Workers' Alliance as Legislative Director for the *Congress for Industrial Organization*. Since this appointment, Hawkins has been active in the *CIO Political Action Committee*. His name has been linked with *American Youth for Democracy*, formerly the *Young Communist League*, the *People's Educational Center*, the *California Labor School* and other organizations notoriously known as Communist fronts.

Dolph Winebrenner was listed as the Publicity Director of the *Southern California Committee for Proposition Number 11*. Rena M. Vale (See the Committee's 1943 Report), a former member of the Communist Party and a witness before this committee, declared under oath that Winebrenner was a member of the Professional Section of the Political Commission of the Communist Party in the spring of 1938 and that she served with him on that commission.

As might be expected, the notorious Marxist, John Howard Lawson, is prominently listed as one of the sponsors of the FEPC proposition. The committee has had occasion to list the Communist activities of Lawson many times and the reader is referred to the committee's 1943 and 1945 Reports, as well as the index of this report, for details. While John Howard Lawson is presently eking out a miserable proletarian existence as a screenwriter at a fabulous salary in Hollywood, it must be remembered that he was formerly an Associate Editor of the official organ of the *Communist Party of the United States*, the *New York Daily Worker*.

Among other sponsors of the proposition, taken at random, are such well known Party-liners as Fay Allen, Charlotta Bass, Reverend Clayton Russell, Reuben Borough, Carey McWilliams, Leo Gallagher, Samuel Ornitz and Albert Maltz. Fay Allen, Charlotta Bass and the Reverend Russell enthusiastically sponsored and endorsed a call for a fund-drive for the official voice of the Communist Party on the West Coast, the *People's Daily World*, July 9, 1943. Submission to Moscow is chronic with these individuals.

Carey McWilliams is particularly distinguished by both the congressional and California legislative committees as an individual belonging to an outstanding number of satellites in Stalin's solar system. The reader is referred to the committee's 1943 and 1945 Reports for further details on Carey McWilliams. (Also see index this report.)

Leo Gallagher's Communist record in California is known to nearly every person who has had occasion to interest himself in public affairs. As in the case of Carey McWilliams and John Howard Lawson, the activities of Leo Gallagher are set forth in great detail in the pages of the reports heretofore submitted to the California Legislature. Gallagher is presently a member of the law firm of Katz, Gallagher and Margolis. Both Ben Margolis and Charles Katz, of the said law firm, have been active for many years in Communist Party activities in this State.

Albert Maltz, Communist dialectic writer, has been used for a number of years for Communist Party "window-dressing." He recently caused a furore in Communist Party journalistic circles by daring to state that a novel might be written outside of the Stalinist intellectual straight-jacket. Although the incident might have been concocted for ideological agitation for the benefit of back-sliding Marxist hack-writers, the "Maltz sin" was good for many issues in the Communist Party press.

Such Kremlin stalwarts as John Howard Lawson and Samuel Sillen vigorously beat Maltz to his knees and after considerable fan-fare at the Embassy Auditorium in Los Angeles, Maltz recanted and now declares with Lawson and Sillen that "Art is a Weapon."

Those who have read the committee's previous reports will have little difficulty in determining the character and purpose of the so-called Fair Employment Practices Act. The *Communist Party* had inspired it and the *Communist Party* was determined to find arguments, whether they existed or not, in support of the proposition. The Communist steering committee had to find terrorizing incidents in order to mobilize racial minorities into a frenzied stampede at the polls in November of 1946. If the needed incidents in question were not in existence, the Communist Party was prepared to manufacture them.

It should be unnecessary to add that the proposition was deliberately designed to create racial frictions and agitations, rather than to remedy such discriminations between ethnical groups as actually existed.

GERALD L. K. SMITH

Out of this situation came one of the largest, and certainly one of the most potentially potent, front organizations created by California Communists since the committee last submitted its report to the Legislature.

In 1945 Gerald L. K. Smith came to Los Angeles for the purpose of delivering a series of addresses. It was alleged by the Communist press, and repeated in many quarters, that Smith is anti-Jewish, anti-Negro, anti-labor, anti-Catholic; a former member of Pelley's Silver Shirts, a rabble rouser and a Fascist. Smith vigorously denied these accusations but admitted that he is vigorously anti-Communist. His appearance in the City of Los Angeles might have gone unnoticed had it not been for the organized efforts of many good citizens, unwittingly led by the Communist Party, to block Smith's efforts to speak in the Philharmonic Auditorium. This controversy reached such proportions that a Los Angeles Councilman, who had defended Smith's right to speak, was swept from office in a subsequent recall election. Smith spoke.

The controversy over Smith's appearance in Los Angeles was immediately seized upon by the Communist Party as an excuse for its new front. Robert W. Kenny, President of the National Lawyers' Guild (Communist front for attorneys), then Attorney General of the State of California and a candidate for Governor on the Democratic ticket, was selected to "window-dress" the new organization. The people of Los Angeles were to be mobilized to resist the doctrines of Gerald L. K. Smith and telegrams and letters were sent to labor unions and to hundreds of individuals urging attendance at a mass meeting at the Olympic Auditorium in Los Angeles. The meeting was a great success and several thousand dollars in cash was collected for the purpose of financing the organization's program. Thus *Mobilization for Democracy* was born.

THE LOS ANGELES CENTRAL LABOR COUNCIL INVESTIGATION

Among the organizations invited to participate in the mass meeting at the Olympic Auditorium was the Central Labor Council of Los Angeles. In its investigation the committee subpoenaed W. J. Bassett, secretary of the council, to testify at its public meeting in Los Angeles in January,

1946. The committee wanted to know why the Central Labor Council had first appeared to collaborate with Mobilization for Democracy and why it had suddenly withdrawn its support. The testimony of W. J. Bassett, in this connection, follows:

Q. (By Mr. Combs): How was your interest in that organization solicited?

A. When the Council for Civic Unity attempted to mobilize the meeting at the Olympic Auditorium in opposition to Gerald L. K. Smith, the Los Angeles Central Labor Council was invited to endorse and to participate in that meeting. The communications that invited the Central Labor Council to participate only stated that the meeting was to acquaint the public with the activities of Gerald L. K. Smith. We endorsed the meeting and I personally spoke at the meeting. Subsequent to that time the parties who had, with the Council of Civic Unity, formed the meeting, carried on and formed what they called the *Mobilization for Democracy*. They had never approached the council for an endorsement of the organization, nor had they even advised us of it. They merely kept sending notices that there would be meetings, using this council's and my own name, and unbeknownst to myself published it in the daily newspapers. At that time I communicated with Attorney General Bob Kenny, who was supposed to be chairman, and protested the use of the name of the *American Federation of Labor* or my name in connection with it, or any of the activities of the council. I questioned their attitude on Communism and asked him to make a statement as to their position; whether they opposed Communism as well as Fascism. And I also advised them before they could use our name any further they would have to have the official endorsement of the council.

Q. Mr. Bassett, in connection with your suggestion as to whether they were opposed to Communism; the *Mobilization for Democracy* was very definitely and vociferously opposed to Fascism, wasn't it?

A. It very definitely was.

Q. That was the basis upon which it was formed?

A. That is correct.

Q. And did you detect any opposition to Communism?

A. Not one word.

Q. When the suggestion was made that the organization go on record as being opposed to Communism—of course all these questions refer to Communism only in this Country and not abroad—what was the attitude?

A. I have never received a reply as to their position on Communism to this date.

Q. They did not adopt any resolution?

A. They did not.

Q. Against Communism?

A. No.

It appears that the suspicions of the *Central Labor Council* were aroused when it failed to have any response from *Mobilization for Democracy* concerning its position on Communism. As a result of this

suspicion a special committee was appointed by the Council and directed to conduct a thorough investigation of *Mobilization for Democracy* to ascertain whether or not it was controlled or dominated by the Communist Party. Bassett's testimony on this point follows:

Q. (By Mr. Combs): Mr. Bassett, I show you what purports to be a copy of a report which was rendered by the committee which was to investigate the nature and purpose of the *Mobilization for Democracy* for the *American Federation of Labor*, and ask you whether or not you can identify it?

A. The first part, the first report of the committee, and the second is a supplemental report of factual information turned in by the committee, both of which have been adopted by the council and concurred in.

The report is as follows:

"Los Angeles, California, September 14, 1945. To the Los Angeles Central Labor Council.

"Dear Sirs and Brothers:

"We present herewith the recommendations of the special committee appointed by President Ranford to investigate the activities of the *Mobilization for Democracy* headed by Attorney General Robert W. Kenny.

"Your committee was appointed as the result of a motion approved at the regular council meeting of August 20, 1945.

"President Ranford appointed to the committee J. J. Morgan of the State, County and Municipal Employees, a member of the executive board; Jack Annand of the Bakery Drivers Local 276; and Ed Gibbons of Advertising and Public Relations Local 518. J. J. Morgan was elected chairman by the committee.

"The committee was instructed by President Ranford to investigate the *Mobilization for Democracy* and to bring back complete and accurate information and recommendations for the guidance of the council.

"Your committee, therefore, attended the meeting of the *Mobilization for Democracy* at Los Angeles City College on Sunday, August 26, 1945. The committee also interviewed George Stiller, the Mobilization's acting secretary; and the committee also obtained information for its guidance from representatives of labor and civic organizations who had the same interests as the AFL has in the Mobilization's stated original purpose of fighting Gerald L. K. Smith.

"Your committee noted at the outset that there had developed a public controversy between the secretary of your council, W. J. Bassett, on the one hand, and Chairman Kenny of the Mobilization and acting secretary Stiller of the Mobilization over asserted unauthorized use of the AFL name in publicity, and also over the question as to whether or not the Mobilization intended to fight Communism as well as Fascism, which is the publicly proclaimed policy of this council.

"Your committee must state in all frankness that neither at the public meeting on August 26, 1945, nor in its conversa-

tions with Stiller and other civic and labor leaders has the committee received any satisfactory answer to the questions propounded by Secretary Bassett.

"Your committee noted that President Ranford, Assistant Secretary Liles, and other AFL leaders were present at the Mobilization meeting at City College on August 26, 1945, but that the only AFL official who took an active part in the proceedings was delegate George Campbell of Musicians Local 47, who appeared on the platform, who was one of the speakers, and who was listed on the program officially as an AFL representative, and that the only other labor representative listed on the program was Phillip M. Connelly, CIO, who also spoke.

"Your committee feels that this incident was handled in such a manner as to convey to all present that the AFL was officially represented and that George Campbell was the AFL representative. This is directly contrary to the action of this council at its last regular meeting.

"Your committee is informed that Delegate Campbell was given an opportunity to serve on the committee of observers making this report, but declined. The committee was further informed by Acting Secretary of the Mobilization Stiller that the listing of Delegate Campbell's name in the manner described was done so by Stiller personally at Delegate Campbell's request.

"Your committee feels that this action by Delegate Campbell was contrary to the principles of the AFL and was contrary to the direct action of this council on this matter and should be investigated to determine whether or not Delegate Campbell deliberately violated the rules and principles of this Council."

* * * * *

"The only person in the entire proceedings who mentioned his public opposition to Communism was Mayor Bowron.

"The stated purpose of the meeting was to follow up what Chairman Kenny described as a 'mandate of the people' given at the Olympic Auditorium mass meeting of civic and labor groups held on July 20th for the purpose of publicly proclaiming opposition to Gerald L. K. Smith and to other promoters of racial, religious and class intolerance.

* * * * *

"Your committee desires to report that it is in absolute accord with the stated purpose of the Mobilization in fighting native Fascists, Gerald L. K. Smith and any other promoters of racial, religious and class intolerance.

"Your committee, however, parted company with Chairman Kenny and the leadership that is running the Mobilization on the manner, method and structure of an organization to accomplish this worthy purpose and also on the Mobilization's bold insistence that it is not opposed to Communism and that it does not intend to oppose, condemn or fight Communism with the same patriotic determination that it states it will devote to fighting Fascism.

"Your committee is of the opinion, after a thorough study of the Mobilization, and after interviews with Stiller and interested labor and civic leaders and having had access to stenographic notes and reports from Mobilization meetings that:

"1. The *Mobilization for Democracy* has gone far beyond the original purpose of combatting Gerald L. K. Smith and his ilk, and that:

"2. The *Mobilization for Democracy* has now revealed itself as having the intention of reaching into every organization, union, club, association, and into the communities and homes for the purpose of creating a new coalition that will be led and dominated by the Communist Party, by minority radical elements of the CIO and AFL, by the *CIO Political Action Committee* and organizations with similar ideological beliefs and objectives; and that:

"3. The deliberate and unconcealed intention of the leaders of the Mobilization is to use it as an instrument to smear anyone who opposes Communism as a Fascist whether or not such opponents of Communism are equally opposed to Fascism.

"Your committee notes that clear-cut opposition to both Communism and Fascism is the official and constitutional policy of this council and of the AFL—and on this issue alone, the committee would recommend unanimously against any alliance or participation in the Mobilization.

"Based on its investigation and information received, your committee submits herewith to the council for appropriate action the following recommendation:

"1. That the Los Angeles Central Labor Council publicly refuses to affiliate with the *Mobilization for Democracy* upon the grounds that it is duplicative of existing functions of civic and labor groups in this community and that it expressly refuses to oppose Communism and upon the further grounds that the manner of its organization, methods of representation and similar serious questions regarding an organization that seeks so much power have not been answered satisfactorily to this council."

Mr. Bassett read excerpts from the supplemental report of the Central Labor Council's committee, which report was also introduced into the record as an exhibit. The committee deems these excerpts worthy of reproduction in this report as they throw considerable light on the ambitious propaganda program of *Mobilization for Democracy*:

"There exists in the openly expressed attitude of the Mobilization leadership a clear intention to promote a widespread propaganda campaign to indiscriminately lump together all persons who oppose both Communism and Fascism with the aim of smearing all opponents of Communism, as Fascists, regardless of whether or not they are equally against Fascism as they are against Communism.

"The leaders of the Mobilization take the public position that anyone who opposes Communism is automatically a red-baiter and a Fascist. The committee disagrees sharply with this point.

"The committee also notes that in informal discussions between sessions at the City College meetings, a number of persons made statements that 'the AFL are a bunch of Trotskyites who are trying to wreck our CIO program.'

"Among the projects discussed and many put into resolutions at the panel meetings were the following:

"a. An 'F-M' Radio Station, to be owned by the Mobilization and to be financed by the supporting organizations.

"b. A 'press book for Democracy,' a tabloid publication of wide circulation, to be put out by the *Newspaper Guild* and the *Hollywood Writers Mobilization*, which would fight Fascism, and would smear all opponents of Communism as 'red-baiters' and Fascists.

"c. All supporters of the program are to follow a certain local daily press political writer for information on major political angles.

"d. All AFL supporters of the program are to engage in a pressure campaign to make the '*Los Angeles Citizen*' and other AFL papers what speakers described as 'more liberal and progressive.' A local left-wing labor writer is to advise them on preparing stories to be offered the *Citizen* and other papers under threats of withdrawing union subscriptions.

"e. Committees in each neighborhood are to contact their theater managers with pressures for free time for public meetings and for or against certain films.

"f. A new Hollywood publication is to be the guide in projected boycotting of films that do not suit the Mobilization.

"g. Certain local radio commentators are to be followed as guides for those sympathetic to the program.

"h. A general program of boycott threats is to be developed covering films, radio, press and other media.

"i. One small community in the county is to be selected as a 'test tube' community to try out all the projects and pressure methods in a sort of preview demonstration of the ambitious program.

"j. A scientific system of appealing to the particular interest of each group and segment of the community is to be worked out and followed to draw all groups in to follow the main program on the belief that their particular interest is the main interest of the Mobilization.

"k. A central speakers bureau is to be set up to send speakers to labor unions, churches, clubs, veterans and other groups with the propaganda program.

"l. A special program is to be developed to reach the youth groups, including the Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, YMCA and neighborhood youth organizations.

"m. A special committee is to cover the police and sheriffs situation with the purpose of publicizing law enforcement agencies as practicing racial discrimination and a citizens advisory committee is

to issue public statements on the subject, also criticizing the organization of police and sheriff department employees and AFL unions.

"n. A special parallel citizens advisory committee is to be set up to act on and publicize the program in connection with fair employment practice issues and to gain for the Mobilization complete credit for any fair employment gains by racial minorities.

"o. All participants in the program were instructed never to refer to their activities as propaganda, but as educational.

"p. The Army orientation courses on Fascism are to be the basis of the propaganda campaign in labor unions, clubs and the neighborhood. These will be edited to emphasize the point that Hitler attacked Communism for his own purposes and this will be used to smear all opponents of Communism, whether or not they are against both Communism and Fascism.

"q. The committee is in possession of much additional information on policies, programs and persons involved, but it feels that this information herewith presented indicates the trend of the panel meetings and other secret meetings.

"Your committee was frankly of the opinion that in its conduct and its revealed program, the *Mobilization for Democracy* has gone very far beyond the original purposes of the Olympic Auditorium meeting to combat Gerald L. K. Smith; and that the Mobilization is—if not Communist—inspired and controlled—at least influenced and steered by Communists and fellow-travelers."

SHOP-WORN COMMUNIST WINDOW-DRESSING

At its January, 1946, hearing in Los Angeles the committee introduced into the record a photostatic copy of a Western Union telegram dated October 27, 1945, signed by Robert W. Kenny, Carey McWilliams, George Campbell, Pauline Lauber, Frank Pellett, Phillip M. Connelly, Ellenore Abowitz, Fred Pollock and Leo Gallin, urging participation in *Mobilization for Democracy* activity. The records of Carey McWilliams, Pauline Lauber (whose true name is Pauline Lauber Finn) and Phillip M. Connelly are set forth in the 1943 and 1945 Committee Reports.

The *Mobilization for Democracy* sponsored a mass meeting for Monday, October 29, 1945, at 4 p.m. to protest the action of the *Los Angeles County Board of Education* in granting the use of the *Polytechnic High School* in Los Angeles to Gerald L. K. Smith. *Polytechnic High School* was picketed by a mob of unorganized individuals on the occasion of Smith's address. Several acts of violence occurred which resulted in police action and arrests. As an outgrowth of these events, some of these students who had been persuaded to participate in the picketing were dismissed from school. Many good people who believed that Gerald L. K. Smith was anti-Semitic and who had wished to protest against him and what he reputedly stood for, came to the conclusion that the activities of the *Mobilization for Democracy* were disgraceful and withdrew from the organization.

The *Los Angeles County Board of Education* indicated that if the law compelled the board to grant permission for the use of school buildings to such organizations as the Communist Party, it could hardly be expected to have authority to deny the use of the same buildings to

Gerald L. K. Smith, whether he was or was not, in fact, engaged in anti-Semitic propaganda activities. It is rather interesting to note in this connection that when the Communist Party holds meetings in the public school buildings in Los Angeles County or in other parts of the State that their meetings are *not* picketed by the anti-Communists in the community. The demonstration at *Polytechnic High School* in Los Angeles in November of 1945 was not the only time that the Smith meetings were picketed.

On October 13, 1945, the *Mobilization for Democracy* urged its members by telegram "to attend an emergency meeting at the Royal Palms Hotel, 360 South Westlake," Monday, October 15th at 8 p.m. The purpose of the meeting was "to launch an organized program of action to counteract Gerald L. K. Smith's return to Los Angeles." The announcement stated that "protests against Smith's appearance at Polytechnic High School will be presented to the Board of Education, 1151 S. Broadway on Monday at 5 p.m."

The telegram was signed by Robert W. Kenny, Carey McWilliams, George Campbell, Pauline Lauber, Frank Pellett, Phillip M. Connelly, Ellenore Abowitz, Mrs. Fred Pollock and Leo Gallin.

The individuals who signed the foregoing telegram constituted a sort of steering or strategy committee (to say nothing of its "window-dressing" character), for *Mobilization for Democracy*. The Committee learned that Leo Gallin was acting for the *Jewish Community Council*, Frank Pellett for the *Railroad Brotherhood*, Ellenore Abowitz for the *Hollywood Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Science and Professions* and that Pauline Lauber represented the *Hollywood Writers Mobilization*.

The *People's Daily World* enthusiastically publicized the activities of *Mobilization for Democracy* while the program of the organization was given significant instantaneous support by such other Communist fronts as the *People's Educational Center*, the *Hollywood Writers Mobilization* and the *Civil Rights Congress*.

COMMUNIST FRONT NETWORK

An under-cover agent of the committee was instructed to join both the *Mobilization for Democracy* and the *Hollywood Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions*, under fictitious names. He was soon flooded with a torrent of literature and propaganda from innumerable front organizations. It is quite obvious that he could not have been reached through the mail under *his fictitious names* except through either the *Mobilization for Democracy* or the *Hollywood Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions*, the only organizations that were in possession of his aliases and address. The organizations from whom the agent received letters and literature under the names he had selected are as follows: *Los Angeles Emergency Committee to Aid the Strikers*, 5851 S. Avalon Boulevard, Los Angeles; *Stop the Ku Klux Klan*, Masked Rally at Olympic Auditorium (*Mobilization for Democracy*), Los Angeles; *Citizens Committee for the Recall of Councilman McClanahan* (Thirteenth Los Angeles District); *Newsboys Local* (Industrial Union No. 75, CIO, 212 W. Third Street, Los Angeles); *Elizalde Anti-Discrimination Committee*; *Hold the Price Line Committee* (signed by Robert W. Kenny and Bartley B. Crum); *Win the Peace Division* of the *Mobilization for*

Democracy (urging immediate severance of diplomatic relations with Fascist Spain); *American Committee for a Free Indonesia* (8706 Marrows Street, Los Angeles); *Citizens Committee for Better Education* (5855 Hollywood Boulevard, Los Angeles); *Los Angeles Newspaper Guild*, Local No. 69; *Jewish Blackbook Committee of Los Angeles* (Room 1021, 458 S. Spring Street, Los Angeles); *Citizens Committee to Aid the Locked-Out Hearst Employees* (1324 S. Figueroa Street, Los Angeles), and a committee urging the election of Ellis E. Patterson to the office of Congress by means of a write-in campaign, from 8783 Beverly Boulevard, Los Angeles.

The interlocking network and over-all domination and control of these Communist Party front organizations is clearly indicated by the mass of literature mailed to the committee's agent from apparently widely separated and heterogeneous organizations and committees. The committee's agent had joined the *Mobilization for Democracy* under a particular alias and used an entirely different alias when he joined the *Hollywood Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions*. It is quite clear that every new Communist front organization had immediate access to the membership lists of both the *Mobilization for Democracy* and the *Hollywood Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions*. When Communist Ruth McKenney, heretofore quoted, declared that the busy and effective "scurrying around" of Communist Party members in various organizations is "efficiently centralized" she was making a factual statement that is proved in the Communist front activities of California Communists.

The committee, therefore, finds that the network of Communist front organizations in California are efficiently centralized by the Communist Party and that the apparent divergent activities of these fronts are thoroughly coordinated and directed.

It should be noted that George Anang is the Secretary of the *American Committee for Indonesian Independence*, the Los Angeles headquarters of which is located at 8706 Melrose Avenue. Anang is also a co-director with Allen Metcalf of the Communist front organization, *The Southern California Committee to Win the Peace*.

THE KU KLUX KLAN AND THE MOBILIZATION FOR DEMOCRACY

As Gerald L. K. Smith diminished in box office appeal *Mobilization for Democracy* handlers scurried around to find an appropriate substitute to strike terror into the hearts of racial minorities. Although the *Ku Klux Klan* had been dead as an organization since the committee investigating un-American activities had subpoenaed its leaders in 1941, the *Mobilization for Democracy* seized upon its remnants like a drowning man grasping a straw. With Hitler as a back-drop, the *Mobilization for Democracy* launched upon another crusade against the Invisible Empire. A group of leftwing motion picture figures was enlisted and a new series of public meetings and radio programs informed the people of Los Angeles County that hooded legions were marching down Broadway.

The committee held several days of public hearings in Los Angeles in October, 1946. Attorney General Robert W. Kenny, Mayor Fletcher Bowron, Chief of Police C. B. Horrall, the Sheriff, the District Attorney and many other officials and individuals were subpoenaed. After a long and detailed inquiry from these witnesses, the committee came to the unanimous conclusion that the incidents attributed to the *Ku Klux Klan* had been deliberately manufactured by the fertile brains behind the *Mobilization for Democracy*. Every official in Los Angeles County had independently arrived at this conclusion as had most newspaper men. The committee found that every alleged incident dramatized by *Mobilization for Democracy* as an act of "*Ku Klux Klan* terrorism" had been thoroughly investigated by the law enforcing agencies of Los Angeles County. The reports of the police department, the sheriff's office and the district attorney's office revealed that there was not one single incident heralded as "*Klan terrorism*" by the *Mobilization for Democracy* in which these agencies found any evidence whatsoever of *Ku Klux Klan* activity.

Attorney General Robert W. Kenny testified that he had obtained a superior court judgment outlawing the *Ku Klux Klan* as a corporation in California. Although heading the *Mobilization for Democracy*, he did not cite a single incident of Klan activity in Southern California. Part of the Attorney General's testimony follows:

Q. (By Mr. Combs): Did the *Mobilization for Democracy* specifically investigate any Klan activities?

A. Well, I don't think so. I am the honorary president of it. No. They are one of the civic groups that are fighting the Klan. We had a large anti-Klan rally designed largely to wise people up to this danger so that they don't try to laugh these things off when they occur. I remember when I was a kid somebody solicited me for membership in the Klan. I didn't know what it was. But when I went home my mother told me what it was. That is the way those

things go. So the Mobilization is doing all it can in fighting a hard, honest fight to expose the thing. We have put on some radio programs that have touched on various forms of racial prejudice and have touched in particular on the Klan since that is one of the more dramatic incidents that occurred. Of course, that is one of the things where we got a judgment in the superior court.

Mayor Fletcher Bowron of Los Angeles testified, in part, as follows:

Q. (By Mr. Combs): Mayor Bowron, you were here when the Attorney General testified, were you not?

A. I was.

Q. You heard his testimony?

A. Yes.

Q. Are you familiar at all with an organization known as the *Mobilization for Democracy*?

A. Yes. I have attended one or two of their meetings and I have received a delegation that I assume represents the *Mobilization for Democracy* in my office.

Q. Mayor Bowron, did they make available to you at any time any specific evidence that you could transmit to the police department; did they make available to you any specific evidence that could be used for the purpose of making an arrest?

A. No, they never have. They have talked about a lot of incidents, but when it comes to facts they have not produced them at all, not one.

Q. Do you feel that an organization which publicizes widely alleged acts of depredation or intimidation by the Klan and fails to present to your office or to the police department concrete evidence to support those allegations is doing a public good or a public harm?

A. In this community it is very distinctly doing a public harm. It is setting class against class. It is causing suspicion. However, they are accomplishing the objective or the apparent objective of criticizing public officials and those who try to represent organized government.

Russell Camp, a police officer of the City of Los Angeles, played an air-check (phonograph recording) of a radio program broadcast by the *Mobilization for Democracy*. The program, allegedly prepared by the *Writers Mobilization*, was a highly colored, inflammatory dramatization, revealing "13 acts of terror and intimidation, acts of desecration and destruction * * * including the fact of attempted murder." The radio narrator, during the presentation, stated: "Yes, we know that 27 incidents within three months didn't happen without cause, and here is Robert W. Kenny, Attorney General of California, speaking for the *Mobilization for Democracy*."

The Attorney General arose to the occasion. "The Klan is working to destroy the democratic liberties of all the people," he declared. "The *Mobilization for Democracy* plans to bring you every week specific instances of Klan activity in the United States so that you, the citizens, will know what is going on and what to do about it. You won't find the

series amusing. You will find it interesting and perhaps frightening. But it is not necessary to be afraid. The Klan and Klan-inspired acts can be stopped by you."

Walter J. Sullivan, representing the District Attorney of Los Angeles County, testified that the alleged cases of Klan activity in Southern California had been thoroughly investigated by the district attorney's office. He stated that he had been assigned to cooperate with the Attorney General, Mr. Kenny, and his investigators, as well as with the other law enforcement agencies in these investigations. Mr. Sullivan's testimony concluded with the following:

Q. (By Mr. Combs): In summarizing your testimony, Mr. Sullivan, in no single instance did you find any evidence of organized Klan activity, nor in any single instance did you find any specific evidence that any of the alleged acts were perpetrated by members of the Klan?

A. That is correct.

C. B. Horrall, Chief of Police of the City of Los Angeles, testified that his department was ordered to investigate each and every incident described in the radio broadcasts sponsored by the *Mobilization for Democracy*. He testified that the police department had made thorough investigations in every instance. "We found no evidence," he stated, "that any of these acts could be attributed to Klan activity. Some of them were pranks, some of them had been distorted in the reports to make them appear that they were Klan activities, but there was no evidence that could be found that they were the result of Klan activity."

The chief was then asked the following questions and gave the following answers:

Q. (By Mr. Combs): Is it your opinion that broadcasts such as those which were sponsored by the *Mobilization for Democracy*, one of which was played in part here a few moments ago—is it your opinion that that type of publicity is beneficial or detrimental so far as these alleged acts of Klan activity are concerned?

A. I would say that it is very detrimental, that such a program as that tends to incite riots, racial prejudice, and things of that type.

Q. (Chairman Tenney): Chief, I think your feeling is probably indicated in the record; that if there were any Klan activity that you could put your finger on and if you could get hold of the perpetrators of such things as we have been discussing here, it would be the policy of your office and of the Los Angeles Police Force, would it not, to vigorously prosecute these matters and make arrests?

A. Absolutely. Absolutely. We have tried in every way in the world to get evidence of Klan activities. We believe that anyone who makes the assertion that these cases are the result of Klan activity should put that information in the proper place so the prosecutions can be made and should not make the statement and then not be able to back it up.

Assistant Chief of Police Joseph Reed of the Los Angeles Police Department testified that he had personally been in charge of the investigations in question, and stated that each and every one of the alleged

incidents attributed to Klan activity by the *Mobilization for Democracy* were carefully and thoroughly investigated. He unequivocally stated that the police department was unable to find any trace of Klan activity in connection with the incidents dramatized by Mobilization radio broadcasts. Referring to official police department records, Mr. Reed testified that one of the incidents complained of by the *Mobilization for Democracy* was the burning of a cross in front of a Jewish Fraternity House at the *University of Southern California* in Los Angeles on May 20, 1946. The police department's investigation revealed that the sheet used in connection with the burning of the cross was, in fact, the property of a rival fraternity house and that the lumber used in making the cross was obtained from the rear of this same rival fraternity house. Dean of Men Carl Hency stated that the *University of Southern California* was recovering from a recent bitter interschool election between the fraternity and nonfraternity groups. Further investigation, Chief Reed stated, revealed that there was considerable activity at that time at the *University of Southern California* by members of an organization known as *American Youth for Democracy*, which has been thoroughly established in the records of the committee as the *Young Communist League*.

Q. (By Mr. Combs): So the net result of the investigation of that particular incident mentioned in the *Mobilization for Democracy* broadcast was that it originated from the *American Youth for Democracy* as part of its organizational drive, as part of this drive on the campus of the *University of Southern California*?

A. That is correct.

Mr. Reed concluded his testimony with the following statement: "I might say that we have had a tremendous growth in the City of Los Angeles. Into our section has come a great number of Negro folks and folks from the South; many groups from all over the country, but there are a great number of Negroes from the South. This racial hatred has not been official to any group. It is creating a police problem. And as law enforcement officers we are charged with protecting life and property, and in protecting life and property something must be done to stop this kind of a broadcast being disseminated to the general public."

George H. Weiner, of the Subversive Activities Detail of the Los Angeles County Sheriff's office, testified that the sheriff's office had made a complete and thorough investigation of alleged *Ku Klux Klan* activities in Southern California. He stated that there was not a single incident in question in which there was any evidence of *Ku Klux Klan* participation or where any offender had been a member of the Klan. Mr. Weiner stated: "Speaking from my own opinion I feel that any incidents that have been reported have been investigated by the law enforcement agencies and a sincere effort has been made to run them down. We have found in the few that have been reported in the county that the majority of them are personal issues or that there is some other additional background usually of long standing and people have sought to gain their own purposes and make it appear like it was organized Klan activity. I think our records will support that."

William Bidner, Executive Director of the *Mobilization for Democracy*, was subpoenaed and testified. He stated that he had no personal information of Klan activity in Southern California. Nevertheless, he

was willing to declare that he did not believe the police department when it stated that the cross burning at the *University of Southern California* had been perpetrated by members of *American Youth for Democracy*. He declared that he had attended functions sponsored by *American Youth for Democracy* and believed that the organization was outstanding as an anti-Fascist youth group, indicating his sympathy with the organization's objectives and activities.

Q. (Chairman Tenney): You do know that it is a Communist organization?

A. I don't know it is a Communist organization and I don't sling that word around loosely at all. I said it is an anti-Fascist organization and I mean an anti-Fascist organization.

Q. It is not anti-Communist, is it, Mr. Bidner?

A. Anti-Communist?

Q. Yes.

A. What do you mean by anti-Communist?

Q. Against the Communist.

A. No, and from the point of view of its activities I don't see why it should be anti-Communist.

He testified that he didn't believe it was possible that he could have ever attended a Communist Party meeting without remembering it. He was able to remember, however, that he was a subscriber to the Communist Party newspaper, the *People's Daily World* and that he read the New York Communist periodical, the *Daily Worker*, occasionally as well as the *Sunday Worker*, a weekly Communist publication in New York City.

In reference to the practice of passing around the mailing list of the *Mobilization for Democracy*, Bidner was asked the following questions and gave the following answers:

Q. (By Mr. Combs): Now, Mr. Bidner, getting back to the *Mobilization for Democracy*, a moment, you have your own mailing list, have you not?

A. Yes, we do.

Q. Is it your custom to lend that mailing list to other organizations?

A. It depends who that organization is.

Q. Well, that of course doesn't answer the question.

A. Yes, we are.

Q. Is that frequently done or infrequently done?

A. I would say infrequently.

Q. To what types of organizations is the mailing list made available? You do not use it for political purposes, do you?

A. No, not for political purposes. It is the type of organization that usually supports the *Mobilization*, acts parallel with it, usually in the broad sense of the term, nonpolitical organization.

Q. Who gives the authorization for the use of the mailing list?

A. I do.

It should be noted, despite Bidner's testimony to the contrary, that one of the organizations using the mailing list of the *Mobilization for Democracy* was the Committee for the Election of Ellis E. Patterson to Congress in a write-in campaign. The use of the fictitious name given by the committee's agent to the *Mobilization for Democracy* and used by the committee for Ellis E. Patterson conclusively proves that the Patterson committee had access to the mailing list of the *Mobilization for Democracy*.

Ray J. Schneider testified that he affiliated with the *Ku Klux Klan* in 1923 or 1924 and that he had been a member of the organization continuously until about April of 1946. He stated there had been no Klan activity in California of the type described by the *Mobilization for Democracy*. Whether Schneider could be believed or not, the committee was compelled to conclude that there was no connection between the incidents highly dramatized by the *Mobilization for Democracy* and the *Ku Klux Klan*.

The committee reiterates its findings, set forth in its 1943 Report, that the *Ku Klux Klan* is a thoroughly un-American organization, fully as reprehensible and evil as the many other fanatical crackpot organizations encountered by the Committee in its six years of investigation.

The committee finds that the *Mobilization for Democracy* is, in fact, a Communist inspired and dominated organization, carefully window-dressed and directed. The committee further finds that the organization was engaged in inciting riots, racial hatred and disrespect for law and order.

The committee finds that the *Mobilization for Democracy* was part and parcel of the over-all Communist network in California and that its mailing lists were used by many other Communist front satellites in the Stalinist solar system. The committee finds that one of the uses for the *Writers Mobilization* (heretofore found to be a Communist front organization) is the preparation of inflammatory scripts for radio broadcasts such as those sponsored by the *Mobilization for Democracy*.

COMMUNIST EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM IN CALIFORNIA

Communist Party workers' schools were created almost as soon as the *Communist Party of the United States of America* came into being in 1919. These schools were deemed of high importance by Communist Party leaders and were intended to indoctrinate students with the theories of revolutionary Marxism and Leninism. They were designed to attract members of the labor movement as part of the "boring-from-within" policy of the Profintern in Moscow. The instructors were originally required to be members of the Communist Party.

Since 1919 the Red educational system has slowly crept across the Nation. Until about 1943 the Communist Party made no particular effort to conceal the true character of its educational institutions. The doctrine of revolutionary socialism, the overthrow of capitalist governments by force and violence and Leninism-Stalinism was openly taught by self-admitted members of the Communist Party. In San Francisco the *Tom Mooney Labor School* functioned for years with Communist Party functionaries as instructors, and those who read the school's pamphlets and brochures had no difficulty in recognizing the nature of the institution. The *Los Angeles Workers School* was organized on the same pattern.

In its report to the Legislature in 1945 the Committee quoted J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the *Federal Bureau of Investigation*, at page 136, as follows:

"Over the years, the American Communists have developed a propaganda machine and nefarious and elaborate school system of their own. Their officials in secret and public meetings urge that the propaganda phase of their work must be accelerated. Brazenly, they have urged the development of courses, lectures, and assemblies as media to espouse the ideologies of Marxism and to establish Marxism as a school of thought in the United States * * *."

The committee further reported at page 136:

"For the first time, Earl Browder has assumed absolute and direct control of the 'Workers Schools' of the United States. It is reported that in New York City, V. J. Jerome and Elizabeth Lawson are the key people in the Communists' 'elaborate school system.' V. J. Jerome (alias Isaac Romaine) has been the secret educational director of the Communist Party for many years. He was formerly the editor of *The Communist*. Jerome is considered one of the outstanding dialecticians in the United States and is considered by many members as the 'brains' of the Communist Party. He was one of the instructors in the New York Workers' School. It is estimated that the Communist Party schools will graduate about 5,000 students a year."

COMMUNIST EDUCATION

In 1943, pursuant to the impetus given the educational program by the national heads of the Communist Party, the *People's Educational Center* in Los Angeles and the *California Labor School* in San Francisco were launched. These apparently new educational organizations under new names were intended to conceal the Communist character of the institutions, and, in this manner, exercise a much broader field for propagandization than was possible under the hammer-and-sickle. The workers' schools had been utilized most generally in recent years for the purpose of indoctrinating new Communist Party members and prospects. The field for general propagandization was therefore limited. Under the rather innocuous appellations of the *People's Educational Center* and the *California Labor School* many non-Communists were expected to enroll. Courses offered in these camouflaged institutions would include such innocent subjects as shorthand, body building and the dance, music as communication, drawing for beginners, the modern novel, basic journalism, languages, etc. Once the unsuspecting student was enrolled it would be easy to sell him on Marxism and revolutionary Communism.

The usual window-dressing attendant upon the embarking of Communist fronts was applied generously in the launching of these two California Communist institutions. Professors on the faculty of the *University of California at Los Angeles* were induced to deliver lectures on one subject or another at the *People's Educational Center*. The extension division of the *University of California* at Berkeley was hoodwinked by the *California Labor School* into jointly sponsoring a *Labor and Peace Institute* on the campus of the *University of California at Berkeley*. Thus Communist education in California was dignified by joining hands with the State University.

LOS ANGELES COMMUNIST WORKERS' SCHOOL

The *Los Angeles Workers' School* was formerly contacted at the office of the *People's Daily World* located at 323 W. Third Street in Los Angeles. The *People's Daily World* staff took applications for enrollment in the school. The regular office of the school was maintained at 212 W. Third Street, Room 207 in Los Angeles, where the courses were actually taught. For the full semester of 1942, which commenced October 5th and ended December 23d of that year, the Workers' School announced a special course called *Victory and After*, based on the book of the same name by Earl Browder. The instructors were Carl Winter, Eva Shafran, Pettis Perry and Max Silver, all of whom were full time officers of the *Communist Party of Los Angeles County*. By 1942 the *People's Daily World* had replaced the old official Communist Party organ, the *Western Worker*, and Ed Robbin, radio commentator for the *People's Daily World*, was also an instructor. Leo Gallagher, Charles Katz, and Estolv Ward, always prominent in Communist Party affairs, and Lou Baron, whose record in Communist activities is well known, were other instructors in the school. Communist Party functionary Eva Shafran was the director of the school. An announcement of courses for 1943, a copy of which is in the possession of the committee, stated in the foreword that "the *Los Angeles Workers' School* was established in 1939 to fulfill the need for an educational institution which would provide systematic training in

the history, principles and program of the working class and people's movement and prepare students for effective participation in the progressive movements of labor and the people."

The following paragraphs from the foreword in the announcement of classes, above referred to, are of considerable interest:

"Beginning with a small group of students in 1939, the enrollment has increased steadily. During the past year over 1,000 students enrolled for workers school courses. The *Los Angeles Workers' School* is now the largest labor school in the west.

"The studies in the school are based on the principles of scientific socialism; and the courses, dealing primarily with social, political and economic problems, are presented from an authoritative Marxist-Leninist viewpoint.

"The classes are open to everyone interested in the study of social sciences and current economic and political programs. The students of the Workers' School come from many trades and professions—industrial workers, office workers, students, professionals—representing a cross section of the working population.

"The teaching staff of the Workers' School is composed of instructors whose qualifications include both sound theoretical training and extensive and varied experience in the labor movement. A basic principle underlying the teaching at the Workers' School is unity of theory and practice.

"The Workers' School library has a large collection of Marxist books, pamphlets and periodicals. Students are urged to make full use of its facilities."

Among the courses taught at the time (1942) were "*Fundamentals of Marxism*," "*Marxism and the War*," "*The Negro People—History, Problems and Caste*," and "*History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*."

In 1943 the literature of the *Los Angeles Workers' School* announced that its director was still Eva Shafran, and that the board of directors was composed of the following persons: Leo Gallagher, well known Communist attorney of Los Angeles, Estolv Ward, Bert Corona, Mrs. Mary Troy, Lou Baron, LaRue McCormick, Pettis Perry, Judy Schmidt, Alan Bryan and Jane Renaker. The Communist affiliations, activities and sympathies of these individuals are well known. Among the teachers at the Los Angeles Workers' School in 1943 were such prominent Communists as John Howard Lawson, Albert Maltz, Elizabeth Leach, Carl Winter, Max Silver, Ed Robbin, Judy Schmidt and Pettis Perry.

Upon the death of Eva Shafran the duties of the director of the Los Angeles Workers' School were assumed by Julia Sandy. Mrs. Sandy's Communist record is interesting. Her husband, George Sandy, has been prominent in Communist Party affairs since 1937. He was an organizer for the Communist Party in Orange County in that year, attended the Communist Party convention in San Francisco in 1942 and sponsored many Communist candidates for public office. He was appointed a member of the Communist State Central Committee on September 6, 1940, registered as a member of the Communist Party in Los Angeles on June 15, 1940, and in 1944 was an officer of the Communist Party of Los

Angeles County. Mrs. Julia Sandy has never denied her Communist Party affiliation, and her selection as the Director of the Los Angeles Workers' School to replace Eva Shafran is complete proof, if proof were needed, of the continued Communist character of the institution.

In 1944, the Los Angeles Workers' School was located at 212 W. Third Street in that city.

COMMUNIST WORKERS' SCHOOL JOINS PEC

In 1945, in the February 6th issue of the *People's Daily World*, on page 3, column 3, there appears an announcement of profound significance. It reads as follows:

"Workers' School Bows Out, Joins With PEC

"Los Angeles, February 5—The Los Angeles Workers School has closed its doors and discontinued all its services, executive secretary Julia Sandy announced. The school was founded six years ago to give Marxist training to trade unionists and others.

"Reasons for closing the school are given in the following statement by Mrs. Sandy for the board of directors:

"For six years the Workers School has devoted itself to meeting the need of our community for a people's anti-Fascist education, utilizing the Marxist approach to promote a better understanding of the struggle for Democracy. The curriculum included many subjects dealing with the science of Marxism as well as subjects of more general interest—American history, trade unionism, the nature of Fascism.

"With our entry into the war in 1941, the Workers School centered its attention on developing greater clarity on the problems involved in the winning of the war and the building of postwar peace and security.

"In 1944, with the opening of the People's Educational Center, the Workers School was no longer alone in providing our community with consistently anti-Fascist education. The People's Educational Center, from its inception, has been providing the community at large with a fine program of education for democracy. This institution, being a coalition in the field of education of all consistent anti-Fascists is serving a most valuable purpose in our community. It is for this reason that the Los Angeles Workers' School participated in the founding and development of the People's Educational Center.

"In the critical struggle in which our Nation is now engaged, education for democracy is more than ever a burning need. Through its broad educational program the People's Educational Center has a vital role to play in the building of national unity, and can make a significant contribution as a great center of democratic education in Los Angeles.

"In view of these developments, the board of directors has decided to dissolve the Workers School. The school has played a pioneer role in the educational field in Los Angeles. The policies of collective security and national unity it struggled for are now the policies of the great progressive organizations of the majority of the American people. The special task of teaching scientific

socialism is now being served by the Marxist political-educational organization, The Communist Political Association.

" 'The Workers School now leaves the field open for the broadest anti-Fascist forces to carry forward on the educational front the major struggle of the present moment of history—the struggle for the perspective of lasting peace and economic security opened up at Teheran; and it is confident that they will succeed.' "

Here, then, out of the mouth of the Communist Director of the Communist Los Angeles *Workers' School*, is a positive statement to the effect that the Communist *Workers' School* helped organize the *People's Educational Center* as the organization which would carry on its activities. What Mrs. Sandy was actually stating was that the name of the *Workers' School* was being changed to the *People's Educational Center* and that the *Communist Party's* educational program to spread the gospel of international Communism would be carried on in a new and broader field and in a more determined and vigorous way than ever before.

The "Provisional Committee" for the *People's Educational Center* is listed at page 137 in the committee's 1945 Report. The members of this committee were John Allard, Educational Director and a member of the *International Union of United Automobile Aircraft and Agricultural Instrument Workers of America*, CIO; Fay E. Allen, member of the *American Federation of Musicians*, Los Angeles Local 767, A. F. of L.; R. S. Avery; Charlotta A. Bass, editor and publisher of the *California Eagle*; George Bradley, International Vice President of the *Building Service Employees International Union*, A. F. of L.; Phillip M. Connelly, former State President of the California CIO; O. W. E. Cook, teacher, adult education; Frank C. Davis, former Assistant Professor, *University of California at Los Angeles*; Reverend Martin S. Eidsath, Pastor of the *Southwest Presbyterian Church*; Harry Hoiyer, Assistant Professor at the *University of California at Los Angeles*; John Howard Lawson, National Vice President of the *League of American Writers*; Louis Levy, Vice President and Pacific Coast Director of the *International Ladies Garment Workers Union*; Arnold Manoff, author and lecturer, *School for Writers*; Dean E. McHenry, Assistant Professor, *University of California at Los Angeles*; Russell L. McKnight, President, *Film Technicians*, Local 683, I.A.T.S.E., A. F. of L.; Carey McWilliams; Ruth S. Ryan; M. William Pomerance, business agent, *Screen Cartoonists Local 852*, A. F. of L.; Eva Shafran, Director, Los Angeles *Workers' School*; Albee Slade, Editor and Commentator, *CIO Newspaper of the Air*; C. L. Vanderbie, consultant, Adult Education; Ralph D. Winstead, National Representative of the *Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America*, CIO; and William Wolff. The headquarters of the organization was originally located at 812 Broadway Arcade Building, in the City of Los Angeles.

COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF AMERICAN WRITERS

The *League of American Writers* has been conducting a school in Hollywood in which John Howard Lawson was the dominant figure. Lawson's record of Communist activities and affiliations is set forth in considerable detail in the committee's 1945 Report. He, among other

Communists, spearheaded the formation of the *People's Educational Center*. The *League of American Writers'* school went out of existence after first having made a loan of \$1,000 to the *People's Educational Center*. In the event anyone should entertain a doubt concerning the Communist character of John Howard Lawson and the *League of American Writers Schools*, that doubt should be completely removed by the statement issued by former United States Attorney General, Francis Biddle. The statement follows:

"The League of American Writers, founded under Communist auspices in 1935, for some years attracted to its fold many of the most prominent American writers, Communist and non-Communists. In 1939 the league began openly to follow the Communist Party line as dictated by the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, and at that time most of the non-Communists disaffiliated themselves from it and declared their opposition to its policy.

"The League of American Writers was founded at a congress of American revolutionary writers held in New York April 26-27, 1935. The call for the congress was signed by members of the John Reed Club, including such well-known Communists as Earl Browder, Isidor Schneider, John L. Spivak, and Michel Gold. The congress greeted Gold as the best loved American revolutionary writer and Gold in turn told the gathering that, 'Our writers must learn that the working class which has created a great civilization in the Soviet Union is capable of creating a similar civilization in this country.' The leading speakers at the congress were all prominently identified with the Communist movement in the United States and featured such men as M. J. Olgin, editor of the Communist Yiddish Daily, Morning Freiheit, Alexander Trachtenberg, head of the party's publishing house, International Publishers, Inc., and Clarence Hathaway, editor of the Daily Worker whose masthead then proclaimed it the official organ of the Communist Party, U. S. A., section of the Communist International. The league was created, among other things, 'to enlist writers in a national cultural organization for peace and democracy and against fascism and reaction, to support progressive trade-union organizations and the people's front in all countries, and to cooperate with the progressive forces.'

"Soon after the league was established, the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International in Moscow decided upon the Trojan Horse policy for Communist parties everywhere. By this policy Communists sought to infiltrate existing organizations without revealing their identity. Accordingly, it became necessary to conceal the Communist influence in the League of American Writers. The revolutionary slogans and resolutions were discarded. In the years from 1936 to 1939 the league made an effort to secure as members the leaders of liberal thought among American writers. Although its Communist control was deliberately obscured, it sponsored a policy which accorded with the Communist Party line in those years, including condemnation of the Franco revolution in Spain and an interpretation of that revolution as presenting an issue of *Communism vs. Fascism*. In its congresses held in these

years the league condemned Fascism and praised the 'Soviet peace policy.' It sought to make its program attractive by sponsoring the Federal Arts Project and attacking those who were opposed to any of the social legislation then being enacted in the United States.

"At the time of the Russo-German pact in August, 1939, the League of American Writers began once more to follow the Communist Party line openly and without much attempt at dissimulation. It was in this period that most of the prominent non-Communist writers resigned from the league. Thomas Mann stated that the league 'thinks too much about politics and not enough about literature.' In 1940 and up until June 22, 1941, the league devoted its efforts principally to keeping the United States out of the 'imperialist war.' Its activities were featured in the *Daily Worker* and it in turn complimented the *Daily Worker* for the recognition it was giving to the league's antiwar program. Many leading Communists were openly active in the league at this time.

"On June 6, 1941, the league held its Fourth Annual Writers' Congress in New York City. It condemned the 'imperialist war,' which it called a war for world markets. Speakers charged that the President was attempting to lead the country into war, and condemned the administration for its action in sending troops to quell the North American Aviation Co. strike and for its prosecution of Harry Bridges.

"The American Peace Mobilization and its picketing of the White House was endorsed. Less than a month later the league issued a call to all writers and writers' organizations for 'all immediate and necessary steps in support of Great Britain and the Soviet Union.'

"Not only did the league follow the Communist Party line in regard to foreign affairs, but its program since 1940 has shown a close parallel to the leading domestic issues supported by the party, including a campaign in behalf of Negro rights, opposition to what is called political persecution in the United States, and praise of the Soviet Union and its leaders.

"The League of American Writers maintains an annual writers' school in New York City, featuring courses in labor journalism and pamphlet writing taught by Communists. Once each week it sponsors a 'work in progress' reading by some author. The *Daily Worker*, in its regular reports of these readings, indicates that the majority of invited readers are known Communists or fellow travelers.

"The overt activities of the League of American Writers in the last two years leave little doubt of its Communist control. The resignation of many writers who had affiliated themselves with it in the era of the Trojan horse and their statements at the time of disassociating themselves from it largely remove all possible speculations as to the facts."

PEOPLE'S EDUCATIONAL CENTER 1944

Immediately upon making the loan of \$1,000 to the *People's Educational Center* the *League of American Writers'* school in Hollywood went out of business. The *People's Educational Center* was organized to cover the same courses offered by both the *Los Angeles Workers' School*

and the *American Writers' School* presided over by John Howard Lawson. The *Workers' School*, as well as the *American League of Writers' school*, made its contribution to the new institution. The *People's Educational Center* was presented with the Communist library of the *Workers' School*.

The prospectus for the winter term of 1944 of the *People's Educational Center* states that the headquarters of the institution is located at 524 South Spring Street in Los Angeles. For this term the faculty members were as follows: Alvah Bessie, screen writer and critic; Edward Biberman, artist (brother of Herbert Biberman, who was prominent in the *Hollywood Anti-Nazi League*, the *League Against War and Fascism*, the *League for Democratic Action*, and many other Communist front organizations); Revel Cayton, Vice President of the California CIO Council; Dr. Frank C. Davis, formerly a professor of psychology at the *University of California at Los Angeles*, (now educational director of the *People's Educational Center*); Edward Dmytryk, motion picture director; Guy Endore, motion picture writer; Charles J. Katz, member of the firm of Katz, Gallagher and Margolis, and R. Lal Singh, editor of the Communist *India News*. (The law firm of Katz, Gallagher and Margolis has been vigorously condemned in a resolution passed by the Central Labor Council of the *American Federation of Labor* in Los Angeles).

The same prospectus for the 1944 winter term announced that the school's instructors would include Leo Gallagher, well known Communist Party member; Augustus F. Hawkins, member of the California State Assembly; Herbert Klein; Ernest Dawson, proprietor of a book store on the corner of Wilshire and Grand Avenue in Los Angeles and prominent in many Communist front organizations; Carl Winter, former chairman of the Communist Party of Los Angeles County; Dr. Murray Abowitz, member of the *American-Soviet Medical Society* and husband of Ellenore Abowitz (formerly Ellenore Bogigian); Oscar Fuss, formerly an officer of the Communist *Workers' Alliance*; Ned R. Healy, former member of Congress; John Howard Lawson, former associate editor of the New York Communist *Daily Worker*, and Albee Slade, (Albee Slotkinoff), prominent in the *Mobilization for Democracy* and the *Civil Rights Congress* in the City of Los Angeles. Eva Shafran, the last director of the Communist Party *Workers' School* in Los Angeles, Wilma Shore, screen writer, and John P. McTernan (selected to substitute for Vito Marcantonio, radical member of Congress, at a Shrine Auditorium meeting in Los Angeles) were also instructors at the *People's Educational Center* at the 1944 summer term of the institution.

Other members of the faculty in 1944 were Annette Cimring, member of the editorial staff of a Communist publication called *The Action Letter*, and Kenneth McGowan, who, despite a warning from this committee to President Sproul of the *University of California*, was employed as a member of the faculty at the *University of California at Los Angeles*. (McGowan is still teaching in that institution.)

COMMUNIST PEC 1945

It was announced that Bruce Minton, a screen writer, would be an instructor at the *People's Educational Center* in its spring term of 1945. At the time of this announcement Bruce Minton was a prominent

member of the *Communist Party of the United States of America*. He had been very close to Earl Browder. After Browder's "ideological blunder" and his removal as the secretary of the *Communist Party of the United States*, Bruce Minton, together with Communist Ruth McKenney, because of so-called "factual factionism," were expelled from the Communist Party. It should not be necessary to state that Bruce Minton, since his expulsion from the Communist Party, is no longer an instructor at the *People's Educational Center*.

Other members of the faculty of the *People's Educational Center* during the spring of 1945 were Judith Schmidt, Circulation Manager of the *People's Daily World* for Los Angeles County; Ruth McKenney; Viola Spolin, screen writer; Edward Eliseu, screen writer and Sanford Goldner, research director in charge of the Los Angeles office of the California CIO Council.

By December, 1945, the curriculum for the *People's Educational Center* had been considerably broadened. The headquarters of the school were now located at 1717 North Vine Street, Hollywood. The faculty now included such individuals as Judge Leon Yankwich, of the United States District Court in Los Angeles, Professor Harry Hoijer, Professor Leonard Bloom, Professor Howard Gilhausen, Professor David Appleman, Professor Dean McHenry, Professor Ralph Beals and Dr. Frank C. Davis, all members of the faculty of the *University of California at Los Angeles*; Leo Bigelman, former teacher at the Los Angeles Workers' School; Jules Carson, former instructor at the *Tom Mooney Labor School* in San Francisco; Peter De Lima, left-wing radio commentator; Meyer Frieden, former U. C. L. A. student and one of the organizers of the *Young Communist League* in Oakland, and currently the head of the *Young Communist League's* successor, *American Youth for Democracy*; John Howard Lawson; Katherine McTernan, former instructor at the *California Labor School* in San Francisco; Viola Brothers Shore, screen writer; Frank Tuttle, screen director, and Alvin Wilder, left-wing radio commentator. Others connected with the *People's Educational Center* were Willis J. Hill, Ralph Winstead, R. S. Avery, Fay E. Allen, Harry Brown, Francis Eisenberg, Mrs. Gertrude Flatte, Tex Freeman, Frank Green, Dorothy Healy, Kenneth W. Howard, Boyce Howard, Z. P. Peterson, Louis J. Rosenkranz, and Howard Lambert.

When a trusted Communist functionary appears as the member of the Board of Directors or an officer of an organization, the Communist character and control of the group is firmly established. It must be remembered that Communist functionaries never waste time. In the first place, no self-respecting American organization would deliberately elect a known Communist functionary to a position of importance and control in its organization. When, therefore, Dorothy Healy (Dorothy Schneiderman, Dorothy Ray), Secretary of the Communist Party of Los Angeles County, is discovered as a member of the Board of Directors of the *People's Educational Center*, the character of the institution is immediately established. (See the committee's 1943 and 1945 reports for the Communist record of Dorothy Healy).

The committee found close coordination between the educational programs of the Communist Party in San Francisco and the educational policies of the Communist Party in Los Angeles. The over-all direction of Communist Party indoctrination throughout the United States is still

ably directed by V. J. Jerome (Isaac Romaine), National Educational Director for the *Communist Party of the United States of America*. The singleness of purpose and uniformity of direction is clearly revealed in an analysis of the activities, curricula and mechanics of the *People's Educational Center* in Los Angeles and the *California Labor School* in San Francisco.

COMMUNIST PEC UP-TO-DATE

So that the record be complete the committee lists the individuals who have served, and for the greater part, are still serving, as members of the faculty of the *Communist People's Educational Center*: Ralph Beals, member of the faculty of the *University of California at Los Angeles*; Alvah Bessie, novelist, screen writer and critic; Herbert Biberman, screen director and student of the Soviet Theater; Leo Bigelman, formerly associated with the *Communist Workers' School* of Los Angeles; Gerald Blankfort, a fellow of the *American College of Physicians*; Leonard Bloom, a member of the faculty of the *University of California at Los Angeles*; Abram Burroughs, author and coproducer of the radio program, *Duffy's Tavern*; Jacobina Caro, dance director and member of the *Actor's Laboratory* in Hollywood; Doris Shabot, puppeteer; Emma Lu Davis, former instructor at *Reed College*; Frank C. Davis, Department of Psychology, *University of California* at Los Angeles; Eva Dickstein, illustrator; Howard Zimdsdale, screen writer; Edward Dmytryk, motion picture director; Guy Endore, screen writer; Neil Enochs, Director of Research for the *Chinese-American Bureau of Research* of Los Angeles; Paul Erfer, Director of the *Hollywood Folk Dance Center*; Franklin Fearing, Professor of Psychology at the *University of California at Los Angeles* and Vice Chairman of the *Hollywood Writers' Mobilization*; Sanford Goldner, Assistant Research Director of the Los Angeles, California CIO Council; Howard Gilhausen, Associate Professor of Psychology at the *University of California*, Los Angeles; Sondra Gorney, editor and film critic; Shirley Grey, director of the drama group of the *American Youth for Democracy (Young Communist League)*; Alexandra Groth, instructor in Russian; Ruth Halpert, teacher in the secondary schools in Los Angeles; Thomas L. Harris, formerly National Secretary, *Council of American-Soviet Friendship*; Kenneth Artford, Chairman of Local 57 of the *American Communications Association*, CIO; Harry Hoijer, Associate Professor of Anthropology at the *University of California at Los Angeles*; Alexander Knox, star of the motion picture, "*Wilson*"; John Howard Lawson, heretofore mentioned; Marjorie R. Leonard, psychologist; Eula Long, artist; Marie McGinnis, dance instructor; Dean E. McHenry, Assistant Professor of Political Science at the *University of California at Los Angeles*; Katherine McTernan, former instructor of the *California Labor School in San Francisco*; Leo Mittler, stage and screen director; John Sanford, author; Maurice Schoppe, art instructor and set designer; Edward Joseph Shoben, practicing psychologist in the City of Los Angeles; Wilma Shore, author; Michael Simmons, screen writer; Viola Spolin, teacher of dramatics at *Hull House*, Chicago; Seymour Stern, motion picture director; Keith Sward, consulting psychologist, Beverly Hills; Jacques Thery, screen writer; Lory Titelman, former director of Child Care Nursery School,

Santa Monica; Frank Tuttle, motion picture director; Michael Uris, motion picture writer and Alvin Wilder, left-wing radio commentator.

Among the instructors announced for the winter term, commencing Monday, January 20, 1947, are the following: Sidney Davison, Milton Tyre, Helmer Bergman, William B. Esterman, Charles Gladstone, Frank Pestana, Wallace Stark, George Beller, Ted Gilien, Herb Klynn, Mildred Raskin, Neil Enochs, Marshall Ho'o, R. Lal Singh, Minna Agins, Dr. Jack Agins, Leo Bigelman, Dr. Frank Davis, Mrs. Lory Titelman, Dr. Fredrick Reynolds, Dr. Murray Abowitz, Hyman Engelberg, David Way, Frank Thomas, Judith Schmidt, Rose N. Marshall, Marjorie Leonard, Irving Pichel, Herbert Biberman, Edward Dmytryk, Hugo Friedhofer, Kenneth Macgowan, Vincent Sherman, Robert Lees, Val Burton, Stanley Rubin, Vocha Fiske, Louis Quinn, Hugh Campbell, Michael Simmons, Helen Alcalay, Guy Endore, John Sanford, Wilma Shore, Charles B. Millholland, Gladys Magy, Lillya Sabsay, Freda Minowitz, Moi Solotaroff, Emma Lou Davis, Leon Saulter, Joseph Chabot, Paquerette Pathe, Alice Miles, Laurence Morton, Elliott Grennard, Ben Barzman, Karen Morley and Arnold Manoff.

MARXIAN DIALECTIC IN ART

It will be noted from the foregoing that Jacobina Caro is listed as an instructor or lecturer at the *People's Educational Center*. Rena Vale, a former Communist Party member, testified under oath before the committee as follows (pp. 145-146, committee's 1943 Report) :

Not long after this merger the dancers formed a separate unit with other Communist Party dancers in Los Angeles County, some of whom were said to compose the *Horton Dance Group*, among whom were Letitia Innes, wife of Sid Burke, whom I met as a Communist comrade; also Jacobina Caro, wife of Sid Martin (Davidson), belonged to the Communist Party faction on the *Federal Theater Project* but joined the Dancers' Unit instead of 130;

With respect to said Jacobina Caro, the Communist Party faction on the WPA cultural projects, aforementioned, conspired to get said Jacobina Caro on WPA by faking qualifications; she was instructed to use the address of Ann Howe, aforementioned, 3224 Beverly Boulevard, to pretend to be destitute and thus to pass through the *State Relief Administration* for WPA.

Later in her testimony, Rena Vale stated (p. 150, committee's 1943 Report) that Jacobina Caro met with a Communist group at the home of Mary Virginia Farmer at 1350 Montana Street in the City of Los Angeles, also attended by Leona McGenty and Howland Chamberlain, in which plans were formulated to create another Communist Cultural Commission in order to better coordinate the work of the Hollywood Cultural Commission and other Communist Party cultural work in Los Angeles County.

The committee's investigation reveals that Jacobina Caro is married to Sidney Davison (sometimes spelled *Davidson*), a very active member of the Communist Party under the name of *Sidney Martin*. In 1937 the couple lived several blocks north of Sunset off of Alvarado in the City of Los Angeles. Jacobina Caro is a dancing teacher and worked in the *Com-*

munist Party's Little Theater endeavors. After her work in the Federal Theaters she was affiliated with the *International Ladies Garment Workers' Union* (ILGWU), where she headed a theatrical group following the Communist Party line.

In addition to her duties at the *People's Educational Center*, the record shows that Jacobina Caro was connected with the *Actors' Laboratory*, another Communist venture, located at 1455 N. Laurel Avenue in Los Angeles.

The office of the Registrar of Voters in Los Angeles reveals that Jacobina Caro registered July 13, 1936, from 2238 Lakeshore, Los Angeles, as a Communist. She gave her occupation as "dancer." She was born in the State of New Jersey. On June 5, 1940, she changed her political registration from Communist to Democrat.

Rena Vale, above mentioned, testified that she first met "Sidney Davidson" under his Communist Party name of "Sidney Martin." She stated that he was a member of the Los Angeles County Educational Committee of the Communist Party and that said committee was seeking to set up a Communist-controlled art center in Los Angeles. He was an instructor in the New Members' Class of the Communist Party and was one of Rena Vale's first teachers in Communism. She stated that he explained to the class that all capitalist governments must be overthrown eventually before a world Soviet government could be established.

In 1936, under the name Sidney Davison, he registered from 2238 Lakeshore Avenue, in Los Angeles, and declined to state his party affiliation. At that time he was listed as a "correspondent" and gave his birthplace as New York. On June 18, 1936, he changed his registration to Communist. In 1944 he registered as a Democrat from 1791 North Sycamore in Los Angeles and gave his occupation as a "woolen salesman." In February of 1946 he again declined to state his party affiliation; gave his address as 8865 Wonderland Avenue, in Los Angeles, and his occupation as that of "educator." On April 25, 1946, he decided again to become a Democrat and registered from 1022 Laguna Avenue in the City of Los Angeles.

In 1936 he sponsored Cliff Leckrone for the Communist nomination for Assemblyman from the Fifty-sixth Assembly District. In 1938 he sponsored Lou Baron, Anita Whitney, Leo Gallagher and Emma Cutler, all Communists, for Communist nominations in the 1938 elections.

The committee files reveal that he received a B.A. degree in 1929 from *New York City College*. From October, 1935, to June, 1940, he was a collector for the *National Correspondence Schools* in Los Angeles. In 1941 he became a textile salesman for Leon Alexander. In 1940 and 1941 he was an instructor in the Los Angeles *Communist Party's Workers School*. From 1942 to 1945 he served in the Navy. In December of 1946 he became the Director of the *People's Educational Center* in Los Angeles.

The "Sidney Burke," above referred to by Rena Vale, recently was found housed in a Veterans' Housing Project in Los Angeles. When it was discovered that Burke was not a veteran and therefore not eligible to occupy a unit in a Veterans' Housing Project, he was ordered to move. Sidney Burke is prominently connected with the *People's Daily World* and is a member of the Communist Party. It developed that he had served in the Merchant Marine during the war and, basing its agitation on this fact, a delegation called on the City Council of Los Angeles in protest.

The Communist character of the delegation is indicated by its personnel. Among those who addressed the City Council are the following: John H. Taylor of 16818 Dalton Avenue, Gardena; Kenneth Ostheiner, representing the *National Maritime Union*; Merle Brodsky, Veteran Director of the *Communist Party of Los Angeles*; Ruth Slade, representing the *Civil Rights Congress*; Sidney Burke, representing the *People's Daily World*; Howard Roe, representing *American Youth for Democracy (Young Communist League)*; Daniel L. Ladd, representing the *Merchant Marine Veterans of America*; B. Joseph Zukas, representing the CIO Council; Mrs. Pearl Fagelson, representing the *International Workers Order*; L. V. Thomas; James W. Lynch; Roland C. Hugo, representing the CIO, and Dennie Hooper, representing the *National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards*.

CALIFORNIA LABOR SCHOOL

The San Francisco *Workers' School* opened in 1932 following the same pattern of other Communist workers' schools scattered throughout populous centers in the United States. It was frankly and openly a school for instruction in Communism.

The announcement of courses offered for the fall term of 1934 contained the following quotation from the writings of Lenin on the cover of the pamphlet: "Without revolutionary theory, there can be no revolutionary practice."

The school was located at 675 Minna Street in the City of San Francisco. Among the instructors were Leo Gallagher, Ida Rothstein, Carl Hama and other prominent Communists. The officers of the school were as follows: Executive Secretary, Emma Cutler; Secretary, Fred Mitchell; Maria Morris, Leo Thompson, Dan Morgan, John Hunt, Hilda Silvers and Ada Handler. Members of the Advisory Council were Langston Hughes, Ella Winter, Lincoln Steffens, Emmett Kirby, Beatrice Kinkead, Anita Whitney, Dr. M. H. Crawford, Sam Darcy (District Organizer of the *Communist Party* at that time), Benjamin Ellisberg, *Plasterers Union* of the *American Federation of Labor*; Ed Harris, *Machinists Local 68* of the *American Federation of Labor*; Sam Diner, Harry Jackson, Coast Organizer for the *Marine Workers Industrial Union*; and George Maurer, Trade Union Director. Courses taught in the San Francisco *Workers' School* were Marxian Economics, Short Wave Radio, Political Discussion Groups for Young Workers, Self Defense in Courts, Russian Language, History of the Three Internationals, Intermediate English, National Minorities in California, Principles of Communism, Quack Economic Plans and Trade Union Organization.

The foreword in the announcement of courses for the fall semester of 1934 is as follows:

"The San Francisco Workers' School functions on the basis of the economic, political and philosophic teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin, and has as its fundamental principles the inseparability of revolutionary theory from revolutionary practice. The central aim of the Workers' School is to equip workers with the knowledge and understanding of Marxism-Leninism and its effective application in their militant struggles against the capitalist class toward the decisive proletarian victory. The revolutionary working class movement is in constant need of trained new groups of active workers and leaders. The school is not an academic institution. It participates in all the current struggles of the working class.

"Pseudo Marxist and 'liberal' schools—it is necessary to state that the Workers' School is the only school in San Francisco which authoritatively bases its education on the theory of Marxism-Lenin-

ism *under the official guidance of the leadership of the Communist Party of the United States of America and the Communist International.* (Committee's italics.)

"Students seeking to obtain a true scientific Marxist-Leninist education should not be confused by the appearance of unauthorized schools pretending to the same purpose. Serious students of social science will also beware of the so-called 'liberal' schools. Marxism, the application of the principles of dialectical materialism, is a science based on a thorough study of the process of social and physical life. This science should be distinguished from the shallow vaporings of pedants who hide their bankruptcy and confusion under the title 'liberalism'.

"School library—the school asks for the assistance of all its friends in establishing its library. We have no endowment and the small tuition fee paid by the students is not sufficient to cover the expenses connected with the school. Therefore, we ask that any working class, political, economic, or research literature that you can contribute to the school library be sent to the school office."

By 1936 the location of the school was 121 Haight Street in the City of San Francisco which was also the headquarters for the Communist Party of California, Arizona and Nevada. William Schneiderman, Secretary of the Communist Party of California, Lawrence Ross, George Maurer, and other well-known Communist figures had been added to the school's faculty staff.

By 1943 the school had been rechristened the *Tom Mooney Labor School* and was located at 678 Turk Street. The officers of the school were as follows: Board of Directors: John B. Mooney, Anna Mooney, Paul Schnur, John A. St. Peter, Professor Arthur G. Brodeur, Warren K. Billings, David Jenkins (Director), Hazel Grossman (Executive Secretary), Julia C. George (Office Secretary) and Ellice Johnston (Librarian). Among the members of the faculty of the institution in 1943 were Paul Pinsky, CIO Research Director; Frances Moore, then employed in the Division of Labor Statistics and wife of William Plunkert; Sam Kagel, War Manpower Commission; Assemblyman Augustus Hawkins (later a member of the faculty of the *People's Educational Center* in Los Angeles); Herbert Resner, attorney for the Communist Party; Katherine McTernan; Jules Carson; Professor Robert A. Brady of the *University of California*; David Hedley (later to become associated with the CIO Political Action Committee while still an alien); Professor Holland Roberts of *Stanford University*; Dr. Sanford Goldner (later to teach at the *People's Educational Center*); Sidney Roger, left-wing radio commentator; and Hazel Grossman, whose husband, Aubrey, is now the admitted Educational Director of the Communist Party for the City and County of San Francisco.

During the winter and spring terms of 1944 the officers of the *Tom Mooney Labor School* were as follows: George Hayward, President; G. F. Irvine, Vice President; Paul Schnur, Secretary; John A. St. Peter, John B. Mooney, Victor Swanson, Professor Holland Roberts, Richard Lynden, Frank Fitzgerald, Mervyn Rathborne, Hazel Grossman and David Jenkins, Directors. Among the individuals listed as sponsors of the school were: E. F. Burke, Secretary of the *Marine Cooks and Stewards*

Association, CIO; Paul Pinsky, CIO Research Director; Mervyn Rathborne, Secretary of the California CIO Council; Mrs. Charlotta Bass, Editor of the *California Eagle*; Henry Melnikow, National Labor Bureau; Frederick Thompson; Anna Mooney; Professor Arthur G. Brodeur, of the *University of California*; Warren K. Billings; Paul Meyer, Industrial Division, YMCA; Professor Robert Brady of the *University of California* and George R. Reilly.

A glance at the curriculum reveals that changing the name of the San Francisco *Workers' School* to the *Tom Mooney Labor School* did not result in any deviation from the Marxist character of the institution. Among those added to the faculty we find Louis Fowlks, a member of the *War Production Board* and prominent in the *International Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians* (FAECT). Katherine McTernan was still teaching Economic Theory and had now become a teacher's assistant at the *University of California*. Hazel Grossman was still functioning as Executive Secretary. Dr. Sanford Goldner was still teaching his specialty, "History of American Thought." David Jenkins was still the director of the school. Professor Holland Roberts was teaching a course called the "People's History of the United States."

By the summer of 1944 the *California Labor School* had replaced the *Tom Mooney Labor School* and had opened headquarters at 216 Market Street in the City of San Francisco. While the name was changed the officer personnel virtually remained intact. George Hayward was listed as president; George F. Irvine, as vice president; Paul Schnur, as secretary and Frank Fitzgerald, George Hardy, David Jenkins, Richard Lynden, Dewey Mead, Mervyn Rathborne, Holland Roberts, John A. St. Peter and Victor Swanson, as directors. Hazel Grossman was listed as being in charge of the Social Science Department and David Jenkins was the school's director.

Sponsors of the *California Labor School* included Charlotta Bass, Bartley C. Crum, United States Senator Sheridan Downey, Judge Sylvain J. Lazarus of the San Francisco Superior Court, Henry Melnikow, National Labor Bureau; Daniel C. Murphy, Sheriff of San Francisco; Francis McCarty, Hearing Commissioner for the OPA; Mrs. Robert McWilliams, Bishop Edward L. Parsons, Wendell Phillips, George R. Reilly of the State Board of Equalization; State Senator John F. Shelley, Sol Silverman, Frederick Thompson of the *Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee* and Matthew Tobriner, attorney for the *American Federation of Labor*. This list of sponsors clearly reveals that a number of good, patriotic American citizens had been fooled in lending their names to the organization. The fact that non-Communists had been contacted and persuaded to sponsor the institution under its new name also reveals that the Communist Party was seeking to extend the influence of the institution to unsuspecting prospective students. The committee is convinced that such men as Sheriff Murphy, Senator Shelley, George R. Reilly and Dewey Mead would never have permitted their names to be used by the organization had they known its real character.

TECHNIQUE IN "WINDOW-DRESSING" COMMUNIST FRONTS

Dewey Mead is the president of the *American Federation of Labor's* San Francisco *Building and Construction Trades Council*. He is highly respected in labor circles and his name, in connection with a labor project,

carries considerable weight. A Communist transmission-belt is well camouflaged when it can boast of such endorsers as Sheriff Dan Murphy of San Francisco, Senator John F. Shelley, George R. Reilly of the State Board of Equalization and Dewey Mead of the *A. F. of L. Building and Construction Trades Council*.

Dewey Mead's letter to the chairman of the committee reveals the technique used by the Communists in securing outstanding names for window-dressing their "front" organizations. Mr. Mead's letter follows:

"In reply to your letter of January 11, 1947, I wish to advise you that several years ago when the *California Labor School* was being organized, I was contacted by a representative of that group and asked for permission to use my name, stating that the school was strictly an A. F. of L. program.

"With this thought in mind, I gave them permission to use my name. Later on however, I learned through the Press and certain responsible labor leaders that the school was apparently dominated by a communistic element. Upon receipt of this information, I immediately instructed a Mr. Jenkins, manager of the school, by letter, to withdraw my name as a sponsor, director or anything else in connection with the school.

"This letter was written on January 17, 1946, a copy of which is on file at the San Francisco Building and Construction Trades Council, of which I am president. The use of my name in connection with this school since January 17, 1946, is without my permission. I might add that at no time have I attended the meetings of this school."

The committee is informed by the *California State Federation of Labor* that Frank Fitzgerald, *Hotel Service Workers*, Local 283; Dewey Mead, *A. F. of L. Painters*; John A. St. Peter, *Local Joint Board of Culinary Workers*; Victor Swanson, *Operating Engineers*, Local 3, and Larry Vail of the *Retail Clerks* have withdrawn as members of the Board of Directors of the *California Labor School*.

The *California State Federation of Labor* has also informed the committee that the *Alameda Building Trades Council*, *Coppersmiths*, Local 438, *Drydock*, *Marine Waysmen*, *Stageriggers and Helpers*, Local 2116, *Office Employees International Union*, Local 3, *Office Employees International Union*, Local 36, *Retail Grocery Clerks*, Local 648, *Steamfitters and Helpers*, Local 590, *San Francisco Building Trades Council*, *International Association of Cleaning and Dye House Workers*, Local 7, *Web Pressmen*, Local 4, and *Office Employees International Union*, Local 29, have withdrawn their former endorsements of the school.

The *Allied Printing Trades Council*, *Barbers Union*, Local 48, *Jewelry Workers Union*, Local 36, *Lumber Clerks and Handlers*, Local 2559, *Operating Engineers*, Local 3, *Retail Shoe and Textile Salesmen*, Local 410, and *Window Cleaners*, Local 44, have all withdrawn their former affiliation with the *California Labor School*.

In a report of the *California State Federation of Labor* on the *California Labor School* by C. J. Haggerty, secretary, *State Federation of Labor*, the federation found the school to be under the control of the Communist Party. The committee considers the state federation report of such importance that it is quoted in full, as follows:

"Report of the California State Federation of Labor
on the California Labor School

"The evidence on personnel is overwhelming. The director of the school is David Jenkins. David Jenkins has a long history of activities in organizations and causes initiated by the Communist Party. His record in this instance goes as far back at least as 1934. According to the *Daily Worker* of May 28, 1934, he was arrested and charged with felonious assault and rioting in a riot in New York initiated by the Communist Party. Further details of this are found in issues of the *Daily Worker* of May 31, 1934 and June 2, 1934. As a result of this arrest, according to the *Daily Worker* of June 15, 1934, he was indicted by the Grand Jury of New York on a charge of misdemeanor and felonious assault, and according to the October 17, 1934, issue of the *Daily Worker*, he was convicted on the above charges.

"Jenkins' activities have conspicuously followed the party line. He was the author of articles appearing in the *Daily Worker* of April 21, 1940, he was a speaker before the National Maritime Union at a Communist May Day Conference. In 1941, he was a sponsor of the American Peace Mobilization of Northern California Peoples Meeting Against War held in San Francisco. It should be noted that at this time the Soviet Union was an ally of Nazi Germany and the line of the Communist Party was to exert every means to prevent the United States from aiding the Allies. One of the organizations created by the Communist Party to foster this line was the American Peace Mobilization.

"On May 13, 1941, the CIO Industrial Union Council in San Francisco, in cooperation with the American Peace Mobilization, called a mass meeting at Pier 42 in order to protest all convoy plans which were designed to aid allied shipping in supplying materials necessary for their successful prosecution of the war against Nazi Germany. According to the *People's World* of May 10, 1941, David Jenkins was to be one of the scheduled speakers.

"Jenkins was the Port Agent for the National Maritime Union at Norfolk, Virginia, in 1937, according to the testimony of a seaman, John M. Sweeney, before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities (Hearings, Vol. 2, Page 1032). Mr. Jenkins was part of the apparatus of the Communist Party designed to facilitate the transportation to Spain of people recruited by the Communist Party to fight in the Civil War then being fought in that country. Jenkins has admitted in the investigation conducted by the Tenney Committee that in New York City he registered as a Communist. This consistent pattern of activities for and in behalf of the Communist Party, and in behalf of those supported by the Communist Party, leaves no doubt that David Jenkins is an active participant in furthering its ultimate ends.

"The Education Director of this school is Dr. Holland Roberts. Doctor Roberts has a long academic background and has not been particularly conspicuous in Communist causes. In April, 1938, however, he was among a group of people who signed a statement approving the purges in the Soviet Union. This statement called upon the American people 'to support the efforts of the Soviet

Union to free itself from insidious internal dangers' (Special Committee on Un-American Activities Hearings, pages 374-375). This statement is in line with the propaganda issued by the Soviet Government and its supporters all over the world to justify the medieval murders designed to eliminate all forms of opposition.

"Various members of the staff of the California Labor School whose names appear in the latest catalogue of that school (Spring Term, 1947) have long records of affiliation with Communist causes.

"Celeste Strack teaches a course entitled 'What is Socialism?' On pages 1978-1979 of the hearings before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, the following statement appears: 'Celeste Strack. This young woman was a former member of the Debating Team of the University of California and was suspended on October 29, 1934 by the Provost of the University because of her Communist activities * * * On August 17th, she was arrested on a charge of disorderly conduct while picketing the office of the *American Mercury* in New York City.' The *American Mercury* was at that time, as it still is, the subject of attack by the Communist Party because its editors sought to warn the American people of the insidious character and aims of the Communist Party.

"According to the testimony of Joseph Lash, National Secretary of the American Student Union, before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities (page 7075), Celeste Strack was one of the Communist members on the International Executive Committee of the American Student Union. Other testimony before this committee (pages 5611-5612) indicates that she was a member of the National Board of the Young Communist League. She was assigned by the Communist Party to work in the 'Young Townsend' movement. In that organization she was the leader of the Communist faction. On page 587 of the above-mentioned investigation, there is testimony and exhibits to show that Celeste Strack was one of three signers of the Declaration of Principles of the Young Communist League. On page 600 of this investigation, evidence is presented to show that at the conference of the Young Communist League held on May 2, 1937, Celeste Strack was a member of the Presidium Committee.

"Anton Refregier teaches a course in Mural Painting at the California Labor School. Anton Refregier has been identified with Various Communist-sponsored, so-called cultural organizations. He taught at the John Reed School of Art in New York which has been identified by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities as a creature of the Communist Party. His activities at that school are described on page 560 of the hearings before this committee. He was, according to this same committee (page 554), a signer of the call for the American Artists Congress, which has been identified by the committee as a Communist-sponsored organization.

"Irwin Elber has been identified before this committee (page 132) as a member of the Communist Party.

"George Hitchcock teaches a course in comparative philosophy. Mr. Hitchcock comes prepared to teach this course as a member of the Editorial Staff of the *People's World* (page 1981, Hearings Before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities). Lest

there be any misapprehension concerning the status of the *People's World*, we refer to the testimony of Earl Browder before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities (page 4346), in which Mr. Browder admitted that the *People's World* was initiated by the Communists and that they have contributed to its financial support. Similarly, on page 4797, Robert Weiner, then Financial Secretary of the Communist Party, admitted that in the two years preceding 1939, the Communist Party loaned the *People's World* about six or seven thousand dollars without any security.

"Helen Miller is listed among the faculty of this school. Helen Miller was actively engaged in furthering the cause of the American Peace Mobilization previously identified, and at a meeting in New York held on Sunday, April 6, 1941, was one of the principal speakers. Following the Communist Party line, she referred, in her talk, to the United States as a Fascist government, 'an imperialistic nation which wants to engage in an imperialistic war for world conquest' (Special Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities, page 8444). Helen Miller at one time was engaged by the United States Department of Labor, and was dismissed from the service of the Federal Government because of her Communist activities.

"Al Richmond and Adam Lapin present a course at the school entitled 'America as a World Power Today.' Al Richmond, according to the catalogue of the school, is the Editor-in-Chief of the *People's World*, and Adam Lapin is a regular contributor to that paper. Al Richmond was at one time Propaganda Director for the Communist Party and has worked on its official organ, the *Daily Worker* (Special Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities, pages 314, 321).

"Donald Thayer teaches a course in advanced economics. He has been identified by William G. Ryan as being in charge for the Communist Party of Communist recruits for the Spanish Civil War (Special Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities, pages 6815, 6818-19, 6916).

"Hazel Grossman teaches a course on 'Women and the Labor Movement' and 'Advanced Economics.' She is the wife of Aubrey Grossman, who at the present time is Educational Director for the Communist Party in this area, and who has been prominent in Communist activities in the State of California since at least 1934. At that time Grossman achieved notoriety by taking part in Communist activities at the University of California (Report of the Joint Fact-Finding Committee to the Fifty-fifth California Legislature on 'Un-American Activities in California,' page 99).

"It is interesting to note that in the Spring, 1946, catalog of the *California Labor School*, Vern Smith of the *People's World* cooperated in the teaching of a course entitled "News Behind the News." Vern Smith has since been suspended from the Communist Party and divested of his position on the *People's World*, and now no longer teaches at the *California Labor School*.

"Certain other evidence at the Labor School indicates its orientation. According to the *People's World* of November 30, 1946, Kumor Goshal, an instructor of the *Jefferson Labor School of New York*, spoke at the *California Labor School*. The *Jefferson Labor*

School has been organized by the Communist Party. Its domination by the Communist Party has been admitted by Lewis Merrill, President of the *CIO United Office and Professional Workers of America*, when he resigned from the faculty of this school in order to divest himself of all overt Communistic activities.

"According to *People's World* of December 12, 1946, Louis Goldblatt addressed the Labor School. Louis Goldblatt is known in labor circles as one who follows the line of the Communist Party in the labor movement.

"In the September 5, 1946 issue of the *People's World*, it was announced that there would be an "evening of Soviet music" at the *California Labor School*."

Courses

"An analysis of the courses at the *California Labor School* reveals the orientation which this school seeks to implant in its students. Course No. 20, entitled "Advanced Economics," is presented by Hazel Grossman and Donald Thayer, both of whom have already been identified for their Communist connections. The summarization of the course in the catalog leaves no doubt as to what the students are taught. It is stated that it "analyzes the reasons why we have chronic unemployment, depressions and booms under capitalism. The theories of Karl Marx on the inevitability of crises and unemployment under capitalism are thoroughly examined, along with the theories of John Maynard Keynes, the advocate of the idea that capitalism can be reformed." The juxtaposition of Marx and Keynes in the context leaves no doubt as to what is taught in the course. The course "analyzes the reasons why we have chronic unemployment," etc. Marx's theories on this matter are explained. On the other hand, John Maynard Keynes is only an "advocate" of the idea that capitalism can be reformed. There can be no question that this course will leave the student with the idea that it is impossible to reform capitalism, and that Marx had the only sound explanation of our economic system and the only explanation of the inevitable end of capitalism.

"Course No. 21, entitled "What Is Socialism?", is taught by Celeste Strack, already identified as a member of the Communist Party. This course contrasts socialism with capitalism and socialism in the Soviet Union with the labor government of Great Britain. It discusses what socialism would mean in the United States. As described in the catalog, "the purpose of this class is to make clear the character of socialist society, to discuss and evaluate the various socialist movements that have arisen, and to consider the practical significance of socialism in the world today." The student in such a course will be taught to consider the so-called socialism of the Soviet Union as a preferred system of society and the form of government for which we should strive.

"Course No. 22 is entitled "America as a World Power Today," and is given by Al Richmond and Adam Lapin of the *People's World*. The course is described as follows: "The foundations of American foreign policy. A survey and analysis of the rise of America as a world power. Special emphasis will be given to the half-

century since America emerged as an imperialist power. Our part in World War I—the isolationism of the 1920-30 period; the Roosevelt period—America as part of the 'Big Three.' ” This course is designed to inculcate into the students the present Communist Party line that America is now an imperialistic nation, and that the present administration has deviated from the Roosevelt policies in foreign affairs.

“Course No. 23 is entitled “National and Colonial Liberation Movements,” and is given by Hans Hoffman. It is described as follows: “The historical, economic, political and ideological background and struggles of the colonial peoples for emancipation from imperialism: Indonesia, India, Africa, China, South America and other parts of the Colonial World. The solution of the national question in the Soviet Union.” This course conforms to the present Communist Party line on imperialism. It emphasizes struggles in those countries in which the Communists have special interests and glorifies the so-called solution of the Soviet Union by coordinating different nationalities within one government.

“Course No. 28 is entitled “Comparative Philosophy,” and its instructor is George Hitchcock of the editorial staff of the *People's World*. The course is described thus: “A study of the historical conflict between idealism and materialism. The course will analyze the contributions of Plato, Heraclitus, Spinoza, Bacon, Hume, Kant, Hegel, Marx and Engels in the light of the social problems of their day. Special attention will be given to the theory of dialectical materialism and the modern positivist school.” Dialectical materialism is one of the king-pins of Communist theory, and is used by them to prove the inevitability of socialism. Hegel, Marx and Engels have provided the philosophical and economic basis of Communist theory. This course is designed to urge the student to think in the philosophical terms upon which the Communist Parties throughout the world place much stress.

“Course No. 29, entitled “Social Thinking,” is given by Leon Alexander. It is described as follows: “How to think about the problems of our postwar society. The course stresses the use of dialectical and historical materialism for the understanding of our times.” Again the stress on dialectical and historical materialism is in close conformity with the philosophical basis of Communist thinking.

“Course No. 73, given by the same Leon Alexander, bears the innocuous title, “The Writer and His Tools,” but the description of the course clearly indicates that it is much more than a course in techniques in writing. The description of the course in the catalog emphasizes that it is “an analysis of how dialectic thinking and an historical outlook can be a tool of the creative writer.” Again, this is an attempt to inculcate the philosophical concepts of the Communist Party into the minds of the students.

“Some of the courses are not primarily propaganda courses, but their value to the student can be doubted. For instance, Course No. 68, entitled “Speech Correction,” is described as follows: “Private instruction for those who have personal speech problems. This training helps to correct foreign accent or stuttering, stammering and lisping.” The value of such a course can be doubted when its instruc-

tor evidently does not know that, according to the best authorities on speech, there is no difference between stuttering and stammering, and in describing the course as correcting both stuttering and stammering, the writer of this description displays colossal ignorance of the subject."

Support

"The *California Labor School* should also be evaluated on the basis of the support it receives. When David Jenkins, its director, testified before the Tenney Committee of the California State Legislature in the Fall of 1946, he admitted to this committee that he received \$3,000 from the *People's Daily World* to start this school. This Communist paper is in continual financial difficulties and each year conducts a campaign among its readers and sympathizers of the Communist Party for funds to maintain the paper. That it should loan David Jenkins the sum of \$3,000 of its needed money for the purpose of starting such a school, leaves no doubt in the mind of any reasonable person that there could be but one purpose for the founding of this school, and that is the furthering of the Communist Party in this country."

"The *People's Daily World* regularly reports activities of the California Labor School. In the September 5, 1946, issue of the *People's World*, an editorial in praise of this school reveals that the school directly follows the party line. This editorial states: "In wartime, the California Labor School directed all its efforts toward the national unity necessary for victory over Fascism. Today, in peacetime, it is still striving toward the unity of all willing forces for victory over the monopoly and imperialist interests bent on robbing the people of the world of the Four Freedoms for which they fought."

"Lest the reader be unfamiliar with the various changes in the Communist Party line, it should be pointed out that during the war period, while this country was an ally of the Soviet Union, the propaganda of the Communist Party was all in favor of "National Unity" and "Victory over Fascism." Today, when in world affairs this country does not find itself always in agreement with the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, the Communist Party propaganda speaks of the necessity to defeat monopolies and imperialistic interests and accuses all countries but Russia of deviating from the Four Freedoms.

"We have presented evidence to show that the faculty of the California Labor School contains many teachers who have long records of activities in causes of the Communist Party. We have shown that the courses given at the school are designed to inculcate into the student the propaganda of the Communist Party and teach to the student the philosophical concepts advocated by the Communist Party. The courses are designed to make students distrust American foreign policy and to look with disdain on our present form of government and our American Democracy. The school was founded, and is designed to be nothing more than a propaganda agent for the Communist Party."

Report of the Division of Readjustment Education

"A few words must be said about the report of the Division of Readjustment Education of the Department of Education, which has put the stamp of approval on the school. The report indicates that the division did not distinguish between Communist propaganda as taught in this school and the method of operating a legitimate school.

"We wish to first point out an error of fact. The report speaks of the various endorsements which, the school claims, have been given by A. F. of L. organizations. It has neglected to mention that many of these organizations have withdrawn their endorsement and support and that some of the names now carried in the catalogue by the school are used without authorization. Further, it did not mention that the school, since its very founding, has been repeatedly repudiated by the California State Federation of Labor as not being a bona fide labor school. In this connection it should be mentioned that the school was originally organized under the name of the Tom Mooney Labor School. Because of the unfavorable publicity that the Tom Mooney School received as a result of criticism by the California State Federation of Labor, the name was changed to the California Labor School. Finally, Mr. William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, has condemned the school and has requested the affiliates of the A. F. of L. to have no connection of any kind with this school.

"Of the course of study, the report states: "In general, the courses are pointed to aspects of labor problems and cultural and social growth of the Labor Movement." It forgot to add that all of the courses are from the point of view of the Communist Party and its philosophy, as is clearly indicated by the descriptions given in the catalogue. The report spoke of the sincerity of the instructors and pointed out that their names, together with their colleges and degrees, were listed in the catalogue, but it admits the individual instructors were not examined. A much greater fault on the part of the report was its failure to examine the background of these instructors; if the report had done this, it would have found, as we have found, that a large number of these instructors are well-known Communists.

"Nor has the report dealt with the background of the members of the staff insofar as it affects their teaching experience or ability. It should be pointed out that, except for Dr. Roberts and a few others, none of the members of the staff are professional teachers, nor have many of them ever received teaching credentials. Many give courses without the proper experience or training necessary. A case in point is the course given by David Jenkins, Course No. 27, entitled "Negro History and Culture," which is devoted to the history of the Negro people. Mr. Jenkins, according to his testimony before the Tenney Committee, completed only the eighth grade of school and has never had any further educational training. His experience has been only that of an agitator in the radical wing of the labor movement, and how this experience qualifies him to teach this subject is beyond understanding.

"Finally, the report spoke of the investigation of the individual classes through the investigator conducting the classes himself in order to determine if there was any evidence of Communist leanings on the part of the instructors, or if the school attempted to present biased viewpoints. The division evidently made no allowances for the fact that the students would be on their guard and would be careful of what they said in order to make a favorable impression on the Board of Education by misleading the investigator. No individuals, by conducting an isolated class here and there, would have been able to determine what ideas were inculcated into the students.

"From the facts presented here, the report of the division should not be accepted as a true picture of the school, and the Department of Education of the State of California must not, through any endorsement of the report, lend aid or comfort to a so-called school, whose sole purpose is to recruit members for the Communist Party and to train them in the ideals and philosophy of this party."

TROJAN HORSE CAMOUFLAGE

The success of the Trojan Horse camouflage of the *California Labor School* is indicated by the school's utterly amazing achievement in joining with the sedate and dignified *University of California* in programs on the campus of that institution at Berkeley in 1946. (As a matter of fact, by this time, the committee finds the Dean of the Extension Division of the *University* listed as one of the sponsors of the school).

In 1944 the faculty of the *California Labor School* was adorned with writers for the Communist newspaper, the *People's Daily World*, left-wing radio commentators, members of the Communist Party of San Francisco, expounders of Marxism, and a sprinkling of pink professors from the *University of California* across the bay in Berkeley.

The curriculum announcement for fall, 1944, lists, for the first time, an Educational Advisory Council. This interesting list includes Dr. Thomas Addis, *Stanford University*; Professor Arthur G. Brodeur, *University of California*; Dr. A. J. Cloud, *San Francisco Junior College*; Professor William R. Dennes, Professor of Philosophy, *University of California*; Professor Willard H. Durham, *University of California*; E. W. Gifford, *University of California*; Professor Edward M. Hulme, *Stanford University*; Professor A. M. Kidd, *University of California*; Dr. Alexander C. Roberts, *San Francisco State College*; Holland D. Roberts, *Stanford University*; Leo Rogin, *University of California*; Dr. Curtis E. Warren, San Francisco Board of Education, and Dr. Baldwin Woods, Director of the Extension Division of the *University of California*.

The *California Labor School* for the spring term of 1945 listed among others, a course entitled "The Soviet Union in World Affairs." The names of those who coordinated this particular course merit listing in this report. Victor Arnautoff and Louise Barnsten are both of the *American-Russian Institute*. The lecturers were as follows: Professor J. W. McBain, Chemistry Department, *Stanford University*, and a lecturer in Moscow and Leningrad in 1937; Professor Harold H. Fischer, of the *Stanford University Hoover War Library*; Captain Warwich Tomkins, of the Soviet Purchasing Commission; Vern Smith, former

correspondent in the Soviet Union and recently expelled from the Communist Party of California; Michael Shapovalov, formerly with the United States Department of Agriculture and allegedly an expert on Russian agriculture; George C. Eltenton, an English scientist and formerly of the Leningrad Scientific Institute; David Jenkins, Director of the *California Labor School*; Holland Roberts, President of the American-Russian Institute, and Dorothea Eltenton of the *American-Russian Institute*.

In the school's course on community services, the committee finds the course being coordinated by Rose Segure, former social worker and active undercover California Communist functionary. Rose Segure's Communist activities date back to *State Relief Administration* days. Her record is long and interesting and includes effective participation in the Communist front organization designed for Soviet espionage, the *Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians*.

George Andersen, attorney for the Communist Party of California, taught a course in American Citizenship at the *California Labor School* during the spring term of 1945.

The instructors and lecturers for the summer and fall terms of 1946 are as follows: Leon Alexander, Mara Alexander, Eva La Gallienne, Tempe Allison, Mimi Kagan, Cyril Atkinson, Eugene Bielawski, E. Bogosian, Holbrook Bonney, Jessie Elliott Buck, Dudley A. Cameron, Jules Carson, Edward Cerney, Isobel Cerney, Leo E. Christiansen, Susan Clark, Adelyne Cross, Vivian Dahl, Warren D'Azevedo, Margaret De Patta, Philip Eden, Irwin Elbert, Sylvia Evanson, Lincoln Fairley, Claire Falkenstein, Gustave Friedman, Fannie Garfield, Louise Gilbert, Robert Goff, Carleton Goodlet, Theodore Gorbacheff, Thelma Thurston Gorham, Archie Green, Nick Gregoric, Hazel Grossman, Milton Halberstadt, Golda Hall, Gladys Hares, Thomas L. Harris, Gail Hazard, Edith Kiertzner Heath, Eleanor Hesthal, Eli Hirsch, Marco Ignacio Infante, David Jenkins, Tony Jue, William Kauffman, Freda Koblick, Ned Kramer, Ramon Lavalley, Cecile Livette, Peter Macchiarini, Janet Macharg, Helen Miller, Keith Monroe, Louisa Moreno, Philip Morton, John Nunes, Ted Odza, Giacomo Patri, Joe Phillipsbury, Paul Pinsky, Jan Reiner, Holland Roberts, Charles F. B. Roeth, Mildred Rosenthal, Peggy Sarasohn, Ann Service, Michael Shapavalov, Nathan Siegel, Julius Stern, Celeste Strack, Juan Urriza, George Vurek, Henry Wachs, Tom Weber, Eva S. Weil, Frederick Welch, Helen Wheeler, Reginald Louis White and Ruth Witt-Diamant.

The list of sponsors as of December 14, 1946, included the following: Charlotta Bass, Editor of the *California Eagle*; Clyde Cook; Bartley C. Crum, President of the San Francisco Chapter of the *National Lawyer's Guild*; Sheridan Downey, United States Senator; Edward J. Dreis; Paul Eliel, Professor of Industrial Relations and Director of the Division of Industrial Relations, *Stanford University*; Martha Gerbode; Frank R. Havenner, Congressman; Robert W. Kenny, Attorney General of California; Joseph Koret, manufacturer; Daniel E. Koshland, Levi-Strauss Company; Frederick J. Koster, California Barrel Company; Sylvain J. Lazarus, Judge of the Superior Court; Cyril Magnin, merchant; Mrs. Robert McWilliams, *International Center*; Henry Melnikow, *National Labor Bureau*; Dr. Karl Meyer, Director of the Hooper Foundation;

J. K. Moffatt, Chairman of the Crocker Bank; Mr. and Mrs. Pierre Montoux; Daniel C. Murphy, Sheriff of San Francisco County; Bishop Edward L. Parsons; Wendell Phillips, Bakery Wagon Drivers Salesmen, Local 484; George R. Reilly, State Board of Equalization; John F. Shelley, State Senator; Sol Silverman, Public Relations Council; Frederick Thompson, *Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee*, and Brayton Wilbur.

The Educational Advisory Council of the *California Labor School* has remained much the same. Only the name of Professor Warren D. Allen of *Stanford University* seems to be missing from the 1946 pamphlet.

The 1947 announcement of courses lists Ed Reite as acting president. Reite is a member of the *International Longshoreman and Warehouseman's Union*, Local 10. George F. Irvine is listed as vice president of the school and is further designated as being a member of the Legislative Board of the *Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen*. Paul Schnur is listed as Secretary and, further described, as a member of the San Francisco CIO Council.

Members of the 1947 Board of Directors are as follows: Ed Barlo, *American Communications Association*, Local 9; Jules Carson, Ethel Cayton, Isobel Cerney, Leo Christiansen, all of the *California Labor School*; James Drury, *National Maritime Union*; Irwin Elber, *California Labor School*; Pat Fogarty, *Shipwrights, Joiners, Boat Builders, Millmen and Loftsmen*, Local 1149; Hazel Grossman, *California Labor School*; Bjorne Halling, *International Longshoreman and Warehouseman's Union*; Clara Hanchett, *California Labor School*; George Hardy, *Building Service Employees*, Local 87; George Herman, Student Council; David Jenkins, *California Labor School*; Mini Katz, *California Labor School*; Armand Koesian, Student Council; Richard Lynden, *International Longshoreman and Warehouseman's Union*, Local 6; Jack Maltester, *Printing Specialties Union*, Local 362; Randolph Meriwether, *Marine Engineers Beneficial Association*; Giacomo Patri, *California Labor School*; Norma Jean Ross, Student Council; Donald Thayer, Student Council; and Gordon Williams, *Oakland Labor School*.

The staff is as follows: David Jenkins, Director; Holland Roberts, Educational Director; Irwin Elber, Trade Union Director; Sylvain Schnaittacker, Associate Trade Union Director; Gordon Williams, Director, Oakland School; George Hitchcock, Trade Union Extension; Giacomo Patri, Arts; Isobel Cerney, English; Leo Christiansen, Music; Jules Carson, Social Science; Andrew Zirpoli, Director, Veterans Activities; Mary O'Shea, Public Relations; Bill Turner, Publicity; Pele Edises, Duncan Gallery, Clara Hanchett, Betty Sibbett and Donald Thayer, Librarians; Ethel Cayton, Registrar; Libby Gratch, Student Guidance; Mini Katz, Financial Secretary; Frances Walleave, Jean Werthimer and Betty Levine, General Office; Clarence Davis, Elevator Operator, and Louis Golla, Janitor.

The instructors and their subjects for the 1947 spring term are as follows: Holland Roberts and Irwin Elber, American Labor History; Isobel Cerney, Public Speaking and Parliamentary Law; David Jenkins, Recent Strike Struggles, Strategy and Tactics; Hazel Grossman, Women and the Labor Movement; Irwin Elber, Union Building; Jules Carson, Economics and Labor; Tom Weber, Publicity Workshop for Trade Unions; Hazel Grossman and Donald Thayer, Advanced Economics;

Celeste Strack, What Is Socialism; Al Richmond and Adam Lapin, America as a World Power Today; Hans Hoffman, National and Colonial Liberation Movements; Leon Bick, Youth in Today's World; Robert Goff, Citizenship; Holland Roberts and Donald Thayer, United States History I; David Jenkins, Negro History and Culture; George Hitchcock, Comparative Philosophy; Leon Alexander, Social Thinking; Dr. Carlton B. Goodlett, Psychology and the Social Order; Evangeline Powell, Family Relations; Jules Carson, How to Analyze the News; Jack Patton, News Forum; Fred Koblick, Peter Macchiarini, Philip Morton and George Vurek, Basic Workshop; Adelyne Cross and Giacomo Patri, Figure Drawing and Composition; Eugene Bielawski and Jack Kirtley, Fundamentals of Color and Light; Anton Refregier, Mural Painting; Victor Arnautoff, Painting; Milton Halberstadt and Ray Oechsli, Photography; Margaret De Patta and Keith Monroe, Sculpture; Frank Cerda, Silkscreen Workshop; Joseph Stein, Architecture; Mildred Rosenthal, Coordinator, and Victor Arnautoff, Margaret De Patta, Hazel Grossman, Giacomo Patri, Anton Refregier, Nora Lee Rohr, and Robert Anshen, Speakers, Art and Society; Fannie Garfield, Reading and Writing English I and II; William Kauffman, English I; Charlotte Howard, Miriam Martius, Margo Westgaard and Jane Blackmer, English II; Jessie Elliott Buck, English III; Jack Patton, English IV and Writing for Daily Use; Awan Soenario, English for Indonesians; Frederick Welch, Voice Training and Speech; Frederick Welch, Speech Correction—Individual Lessons; Gail Hazard, Journalism I; Tom Weber, Publicity Workshop for Trade Union; Leon Alexander, Holland Roberts and Isobel Cerney—Writers' Seminar—A and B; Leon Alexander, The Writer and His Tools—A and B; Ruth Witt-Diamant, Writers' Workshop; Michael Shapovalov, Russian; Edwin W. Pope, Spanish; Servando Munoz, Marco Ignacio Infante, Spanish Club; Leo Christiansen, Choral Singing; Frederick Welch, Singing; Jo Pillsbury, Ballroom Dancing; Julia and Earl Lundwall and Mr. Chang, Folk Dancing; Mimi Kagan, Modern Dance Workshop; Mara Alexander, Drama and the Union Theater; Mimi Kagan, Recreational Dance; Gladys Hares, Shorthand; Nathan Siegel, Bookkeeping Fundamentals; Benjamin Rosenbluth, Arithmetic for Beginners; Andrew Zirpoli, Introduction to Trade Unionism; Jules Carson, Theory and Practice of Trade Unionism; Irwin Elber and Sylvain Schnaittacker, Organizing and Union Structure; Lincoln Fairley, Paul Pinsky and Philip Eden, Collective Bargaining and Research; Sylvain Schnaittacker, Advanced Union Organizing and Research; Irwin Elber and Isobel Cerney, Labor Education and Political Action; Holland Roberts and Irwin Elber, American Labor History; Leon Alexander, World Labor History; George Hitchcock and Sylvain Schnaittacker, Economics and Labor I; Gordon Williams, Economics and Labor II; Jules Carson, Economics and Labor III; Erwin Elber, Labor Laboratory; Jules Carson, Labor Journalism; Holland Roberts, United States History II; Hazel Grossman and Donald Thayer, Advanced Economics IV and Economic Theories of Marx and Keynes; Isobel Cerney and Eleanor Hesthal, English; Isobel Cerney, American Literature; Theodore Gorbacheff, Elementary and Advanced Russian; Nick Gregoric, Ballroom Dancing; Mimi Kagan, Concert Dance Group; and Andrew Zirpoli and Benjamin Rosenbluth, Arithmetic.

COMMUNIST COURSES AT THE CALIFORNIA LABOR SCHOOL

While the descriptive material concerning each course offered by the *California Labor School* is of great interest to students of propaganda methods the brief outline of the course *What Is Socialism?* is of importance in evaluating the character of this Communist institution. At page 16 of the pamphlet currently being distributed by the *California Labor School*, we find the following: "This class deals with such questions as: How does Socialism differ from Capitalism? What is the history of socialist movements in this country? What would Socialism mean in the United States? How is Socialism working in the Soviet Union? Is the labor government in Britain introducing Socialism? The purpose of this class is to make clear the character of socialist society, to discuss and evaluate the various socialist movements that have arisen, and to consider the practical significance of socialism in the world today." When it is known that the instructor of this class, Celeste Strack, is an outstanding Communist Party functionary in the State of California, it becomes exceedingly easy to anticipate the answers the students will receive in their study of "Socialism" in the *California Labor School*.

On the same page of the pamphlet above referred to is a description of the course offered under the title of "Advanced Economics IV: Economic Theories of Marx and Keynes." It reads as follows: "This class is designed for those students who have taken our basic economics courses at the school, or their equivalent elsewhere. It analyzes the reasons why we have chronic unemployment, depressions and booms under capitalism. The theories of Karl Marx on the inevitability of crises and unemployment under capitalism are thoroughly examined, along with the theories of John Maynard Keynes, the advocate of the idea that capitalism can be reformed." When it is known that Hazel Grossman is the instructor of this course and that she is the wife of Aubrey Grossman, Educational Director of the Communist Party for the City and County of San Francisco, little doubt is left in anyone's mind as to the purpose of both the course and the school.

If anyone is so naive as to believe that the courses in art, journalism, drama and dancing are innocent subjects and devoid of the possibilities of Communist indoctrination, he knows nothing at all of the elementary principles of Communist theory. The slogan "Art Is a Weapon" is well known to the Communists and, fortunately, to the students of Communism. The Communist Party insists on Marxian dialectic in all forms of Communist art. Unless the theories of "class-struggle" and "class-consciousness" are injected into every effort the result is not only futile to the Stalinists but is subjected to vicious Communist criticism and contempt.

CALIFORNIA LABOR SCHOOL UP-TO-DATE

So that this report on the *California Labor School* be complete, the committee herewith presents the sponsoring organizations as listed on page 40 of the 1947 pamphlet: *Alameda CIO Council*, *Alaska Fishermen's Union*, *Amalgamated Clothing Workers*, Local 42, *Amalgamated Lithographers of America*, Local 17, *American Communications Association*, Local 3, *American Communications Association*, Local 9, *California CIO Council*, *Contra Costa CIO Council*, *International Longshore-*

man and Warehouseman's Union, Local 2 (Ship Scalers), *International Longshoreman and Warehouseman's Union*, Local 6 (Warehousemen), *International Longshoreman and Warehouseman's Union*, Local 10, (Longshoremen), *International Longshoreman and Warehouseman's Union*, Local 34 (Ship Clerks), *International Fishermen & Allied Workers of America*, Local 34, *International Fur & Leather Workers*, Local 79, *International Union of Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers*, Golden Gate Local 50, *Marine Engineers Beneficial Association*, *National Maritime Union*, *National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards*, *Palo Alto Federation of Teachers*, Local 689 (United Public Workers), *San Francisco CIO Council*, *Textile Workers Joint Council*, *Textile Workers*, Local 223, *Transport Workers Union of America*, Local 250, *United Automobile Workers*, Local 76, *United Electrical, Radio Machine Workers of America*, *United Furniture Workers*, Local 262, *United Office & Professional Workers*, Local 34, *United Office and Professional Workers*, Local 225, *United Public Workers*, Local 223, *United Public Workers*, Local 503, *United Steelworkers of America*, District No. 38, *United Steelworkers of America*, Local 1440, *United Steelworkers of America*, Local 1789, *United Transport Service Employees*, Local 905, *Utility Workers Joint Council*, and the *Utility Workers Organizing Committee*, Local 133.

The 1947 individual sponsors for the school are as follows: Charlotta Bass, Editor, *California Eagle*; Clyde Cook, Businessman; Bartley C. Crum, President, San Francisco Chapter, *National Lawyers Guild*; Sheridan Downey, United States Senator; Edward J. Dreis, Businessman; Paul Eliel, Professor of Industrial Relations, and Director, Division of Industrial Relations, *Stanford University*; Martha Gerbode, Civic Leader; Franck R. Havenner, Congressman; Robert W. Kenny, Attorney-General of California; Joseph Koret, Manufacturer; Daniel E. Koshland, Levi-Strauss Company; Sylvain J. Lazarus, Judge, Superior Court; Cyril Magnin, Merchant; Mrs. Robert McWilliams, *International Center*; Henry Melnikow, *National Labor Bureau*; Dr. Karl Meyer, Director, *Hooper Foundation*; Mr. and Mrs. Pierre Monteux; Daniel C. Murphy, Sheriff, San Francisco County; Bishop L. Parsons; Wendell Phillips, *Bakery Wagon Drivers and Salesmen*, Local 484; George R. Reilly, State Board of Equalization; John F. Shelley, State Senator; Sol Silverman, *Public Relations Council*; Leon Strauss, *American Building Maintenance Company*; Frederick Thompson, *Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee*, and Brayton Wilbur, Businessman.

It is obvious to the members of the committee that many of the names here listed are without the knowledge and consent of the individuals concerned. The committee is convinced that John F. Shelley, George R. Reilly and Daniel C. Murphy would not lend their name to an organization of this character if they were aware of its true purpose.

The 1947 Educational Advisory Council is as follows: Dr. Thomas Addis, School of Medicine, *Stanford University*; Professor Arthur G. Brodeur, Department of English, *University of California*; Dr. A. J. Cloud, President, *San Francisco Junior College*; Professor William R. Dennes, Department of Philosophy, *University of California*; Professor Willard H. Durham, Department of English, *University of California*; Professor E. W. Gifford, Department of Anthropology, *University of California*; Professor Edward M. Hulme, Emeritus, Department of

History, *Stanford University*; Professor A. M. Kidd, School of Jurisprudence, *University of California*; Robert H. Lowie, Chairman, Department of Anthropology, *University of California*; Dr. Alexander C. Roberts, President, *San Francisco State College*; Holland Roberts, Educational Director, *California Labor School*; Leo Rogin, Associate Professor of Economics, *University of California*; Dr. Curtis E. Warren, Superintendent of Schools, *San Francisco Board of Education*, and Dr. Baldwin Woods, Director, Extension Division, *University of California*.

The committee finds that the *California Labor School* has added an *Arts Advisory Council* for its 1947 spring semester. The personnel of the council is as follows: Robert Anshen, Eleanor Anshen, Harold Dunlevy, Dorothy Erskine, Claire Falkenstein, John Funk, Ruth Gerth, John G. Grace, Lilly Weil Jaffe, Walter Landor, Fred Langhorst, Dorothy Wright Liebes, Robert McChesney, Emmy Lou Packard, Byron Randall, Anton Refreiger, Jan Reiner, Nora Lee Rohr, Rudolph Schaeffer, Mary Shepardson, Jo Sinel, Hassel Smith, Joseph Stein, Harry A. Steingart, Florence Swift, Francis Violich and Hamilton Wolf.

FEDERAL FUNDS FOR COMMUNISM

Since 1945 the *California Labor School* has been functioning under the GI Bill of Rights and has been receiving money to assist it in the education of the veterans of World War II. Thus the taxpayers and the government of the United States finance a Stalin-directed institution of propaganda to indoctrinate veterans with hatred for both the people and the government of the United States.

The school maintains a branch in Oakland, located at 2030 Broadway, and branch extension courses are being taught in various towns and communities throughout the northern section of the State.

UNIVERSITY PROFESSORS AND COMMUNIST SCHOOLS

Contemporaneously with the Communist Party's extended educational program for the purpose of indoctrinating unsuspecting non-Communists, vigorous efforts were made to attract as sponsors and members of the faculties of both the *California Labor School* and the *People's Educational Center* sincere individuals who were by no means indoctrinated with the Communist Party ideologies. Regardless of the particular deception in each individual case, the fact remains that the Communist Party was able to secure a certain degree of collaboration from faculty members of both the *University of California* at Berkeley and at Los Angeles. The committee, after having attempted to make the real facts known to the officers of the university without effect, felt it necessary to subpoena a number of the professors who had lectured at the *People's Educational Center* in Los Angeles. Franklin Fearing, Leonard Bloom, David Appleman, Ralph Beals, Dean E. McHenry and Harry Hoijer, were called and testified at the committee's public hearing in Los Angeles in January of 1946.

Dean McHenry, Instructor in Political Science at the *University of California at Los Angeles*, testified that he had visited the Soviet Union, was a member of the Board of Directors of the *People's Educational Center* and was unalterably opposed to Communism in any form. All of the faculty members examined by the committee appeared eager and ready to offer definitions of Fascism, which they unhesitatingly and vigorously condemned, but they all seemed in great doubt as to whether or not Communism was a beneficial or detrimental theory of government. Professor McHenry, however, took a bold, frank and clear-cut stand in condemning Communism in unqualified terms.

Dr. Franklin Fearing testified that he was familiar with an organization known as the *League of American Writers* and admitted that he had attended a meeting sponsored by that organization at 1204 North Vista Street, Hollywood, some time in June of 1942. He stated that he had participated in functions sponsored by the *Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee* and had known John Howard Lawson, leading Southern California Communist, for four or five years and that he usually saw him once or twice a month. Dr. Fearing had participated in the *Writers' Congress* held at the *University of California at Los Angeles* in October of 1943 and was a member of the faculty committee which made arrangements for the event with the *Hollywood Writers' Mobilization* and John Howard Lawson. When questioned concerning the *People's Educational Center*, Dr. Fearing stated: "Well, it is my understanding that it grew out of an organization called the *Worker's School* of some kind." He admitted having spoken several times for *American Youth for Democracy*, the current name for the *Young Communist League* of the United States, and, so far as he could ascertain, he believed the organization was simply a democratic youth movement.

AMERICAN YOUTH FOR DEMOCRACY

In connection with the testimony of Dr. Franklin Fearing a document was produced containing the names of the California sponsors of *American Youth for Democracy (Young Communist League)*. The list of sponsors are as follows:

Mrs. Fay E. Allen	Bill Lawrence
John Cromwell	John Howard Lawson
John B. Hughes	Albert Maltz
Artie Shaw	Thomas Mann
Joseph Szigetti	A. Maymudes
Isidoro Armenta	Mrs. Lucy McCallie
Henry Armstrong	Mrs. Elizabeth McCanus
R. S. Avery	Hon. Lester McMillan
Dr. Dorothy Baruch	Thomas C. Gould
Charlotta A. Bass	Thomas L. Griffith
Harry N. Beckerman	Ken Hartford
Edward Dmytryk	Hon. Augustus F. Hawkins
Pearl Fagelson	Hon. Ned R. Healy
Lion Feuchtwanger	Dorothy Healy
Franklin Fearing	Rev. J. Raymond Henderson
Irving Fineman	Dr. Charles W. Hill
William Gettings	Willis J. Hill
Lieb Glantz	Peretz Hirschbein
James Goldsmith	Major Julius Hochfelder
Sayde K. Goodman	Professor Harry Hoijer
Aaron Gordon	Rex Ingram
Mr. and Mrs. Imre Bekessy	Harry S. Jung
Edward Biberman	Peter M. Kahn
Reuben W. Borough	Dr. Maurice J. Karpf
Oliver Boutte	Hon. Robert W. Kenny
Amerigo Bozzani	George Kerekes
Carl Brant	Aaron Kertman
William H. Brodie	Pettis Perry
Gus O. Brown	Professor Donald Piatt
Val Burton	Jerome Posner
Bonnie Claire	Aaron Riche
N. Y. Choy	Louis G. Reynolds
Dr. P. P. Cobbs	Earl Robinson
Mr. and Mrs. John Cohee	Barney Ross
Phillip M. Connelly	Aaron Rothblatt
Floyd C. Covington	Raye Rubin
James L. Dougherty	Rev. Clayton Russell
Dr. Frank Davis	Frank Scully
Ernest Dawson	Chaim Shapiro
Rev. F. Martin Eidsath	Ben Solnit
Jeff Kibre	Frances Millington
Walter Kolowski	Sam Moore
Chaim Kotylansky	Judge Stanley Moffatt
Mr. and Mrs. William Kozlenko	John Mradnick
Ring Lardner, Jr.	Dr. Max Nussbaum
Nathan Krupkin	William O. Oliver

Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Ornitz
 Hon. Ellis E. Patterson
 Oscar Pappiz
 Frank G. Pellett
 Herbert K. Sorrell
 Professor Harry C. Steinmet
 Dr. Ruth Temple

Mrs. Jessie L. Terry
 Dr. Donald W. Tippet
 Matthew Torok
 Dalton Trumbo
 Gilbert W. Turner
 A. L. Waxman

Dr. Fearing stated that he was acquainted with Mrs. Fay Allen, Reuben Borough, John Cohee, Phillip Connelly, Floyd Covington, Frank Davis, Edward Dmytryk, Lion Feuchtwanger, Robert W. Kenny, John Howard Lawson, Albert Maltz, Sam Ornitz, Ellis E. Patterson, Herbert K. Sorrell and Dalton Trumbo. He also testified that he was acquainted with Pauline Lauber Finn, the Executive Secretary of the *Hollywood Writers Mobilization*, Carey McWilliams and William Oliver.

Dr. Harry Hoiyer has been a guest lecturer at the *People's Educational Center*. He testified that he had no particular sympathy for Communism but that he had no particular antipathy for it. He admitted that he had worked with the *Committee for the Defense of Mexican American Youth*, a Communist front for racial agitation that had functioned in Los Angeles in 1943 during the so-called "Zoot-Suit" disturbances in that city. (This organization was launched by Mrs. LaRue McCormick, a self-avowed member of the *Communist Party*). Dr. Hoiyer admitted being one of the sponsors for *American Youth for Democracy*.

HOIJER REPRESENTS COMMUNIST HOLLYWOOD WRITERS' MOBILIZATION

Dr. Harry Hoiyer, Professor of Anthropology at the *University of California at Los Angeles*, continues his activities with Communist front organizations. The following news item from the *Hollywood Citizens News* for January 28, 1947, fully substantiates this charge, and indicates the type of activity current in *Communist Party* strategy:

Three speakers, presented last night by the leftist Hollywood Writers Mobilization to discuss "The Book Burners," attacked censorship of novels as part of a reactionary plot to control American thinking.

They were: Gordon Kahn, publisher of a magazine for screen writers; Ted Strauss, a Paramount screen writer; and Betty McCandless, a delegate to the last World Youth Conference in London, representing the American Youth for Democracy, formerly the Young Communist League.

A period of the program devoted to audience participation brought forth declaration by one speaker that the American people would not "get the truth" until Communist newspapers like the *People's World* and *Daily Worker* are sold on every newsstand in the country. The speaker listed the *Hollywood Citizen-News* among the newspapers from which "you can't always get the truth."

Kahn told of his years with a nation-wide newspaper chain and said he finally quit because he refused to "color" the news as required by his publisher.

Strauss said the novel was the sole free medium of expression, since the radio, press and screen had already lost their freedom.

Miss McCandless attacked the Youth for Christ movement. She said that young people who attended its meetings enjoyed "an emotional jag" but no lasting benefits. She said the only purpose of the movement was to give the impression that its sponsor "was a good guy."

"Book burning," said Miss McCandless, "is not limited to the United States." She mentioned incidents of censorship in Egypt, Greece, and Spain. She made no reference to the censorship in Russia.

Dr. Harry Hoijer, Professor of Anthropology at the University of California at Los Angeles, presided. He told the audience of 200 that he was there as a member of the Hollywood Writers Mobilization and was not representing UCLA. In his opening remarks he said that "teachers are subject to intimidation by so-called investigators" and that the Truman administration is shifting from a foreign policy of cooperation with other powers to one of "big stick atomic policy."

(The California Legislative Investigating Committee on Subversive Activities refers to the Hollywood Writers Mobilization as an organization whose purpose is "the creation of a clearing house for Communist propaganda.")

On each chair in the auditorium there had been placed a circular announcing a meeting of "Progressive Citizens of America." The circular contained names of many California leftists. Among them were listed: Evans Carlson, Norman Corwin, John Cromwell, Jo Davidson, Albert Dekker, Paul Robeson, Carey McWilliams, Edward G. Robinson, Bartley Crum.

ACTIVITIES AT BERKELEY

Committee investigators learned early in 1946 that the Communist *California Labor School* in San Francisco was sponsoring an institute on the campus of the *University of California* at Berkeley in conjunction with the extension of the university. A survey was made of advance publicity, and the committee investigators discovered that pamphlets and handbills announcing the affair were being prominently displayed in the Communist Party book store a block and a half from the main gate of the *University of California* at Berkeley. When it was learned that John Howard Lawson was to be one of the participants in the program, committee members had little doubt concerning the Communist inspiration of the project.

The committee held public hearings at Oakland in September, 1946. Hyman David Jenkins, Director of the *California Labor School*, was subpoenaed and testified. The committee learned that Jenkins had been director of the old *Tom Mooney Labor School* and that his qualifications as a teacher were based on reading in his spare time while employed as a steward on a ship at sea. He stated that John Howard Lawson had been invited to participate in the *Institute on Labor, Education and World Peace* at the *University of California* at Berkeley and that his name had been carried in the advance notices advertising the affair. He added that Lawson had been unable to attend the institute.

Early in his testimony Jenkins declared that he had lived on Bethune Street in New York City, and fixed the residence number as either 17 or

19. He stated that he believed that this was in 1936. He came to California in 1939 aboard the S. S. Columbia and shortly thereafter assumed the directorship of the *Tom Mooney Labor School*.

During his testimony Jenkins somewhat indignantly admitted that J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the *Federal Bureau of Investigation*, had made an inquiry of the Treasury Department as to whether or not the *California Labor School* had participated in California's primary elections. Jenkins' testimony, in part, follows:

Q. (By Mr. Combs): Do you consider it would be an illogical thing for an organization similar to the one Mr. Hoover heads to make such inquiries?

A. I would; when we're picked out against organizations, both in California and nationally; for instance, the dropping of the sedition trials in Washington. I have done my part, and every member of the school has, in the winning of the war and the fighting of Fascism and the winning of Democracy. Why am I chosen to appear before you as a witness? As a matter of fact, there isn't a member in Mr. Tenney's union who he would question about his activity and political activities.

Q. Let me point out: If a director of a California Labor School has been registered as a Communist, naturally everything in his jurisdiction and influence, of course, would invite suspicion. Have you ever registered as a Communist?

A. No, I don't recall.

Q. Let's see if this will refresh your memory. I show you a photostat of a document entitled, "Board of Elections in the City of New York. No. 188. Borough Office. June 16, 1944.

"This is to certify that the following entry appears on the register of voters of the Third Election District—Third Assembly District in the City of New York for the year 1936.

"Name—David Jenkins.

"Residence—19 Bethune Street.

"Date of Registration—October 5, 1936. Age—22."

Q. You were born in 1914?

A. January 25th.

Mr. Combs: (Reading) "Length of Residence State—22 Years. County—22 years. Election District—6 months.

"Nativity—Country—United States.

"When last registering lived at State—New York.

"City or Town—New York. Street—555 Hudson Street."

Q. Did you ever live there?

A. I don't know. I lived on Hudson Street and at a number of places.

Mr. Combs: (Reading) "Year of last registration—1935.

"Purpose of transcript of record of registration, enrollment Communist Party.

"Board of Elections in the City of New York. John G. Dallas, Deputy Chief Clerk," and the seal in the lower lefthand corner.

Mr. Combs offered an exhibit in connection with Jenkins' testimony consisting of a photostat of a document from the New York Police Department certifying that Jenkins had served a jail term for rioting in connection with his activities in that city.

COMMUNIST RECRUITING FOR CALIFORNIA LABOR SCHOOL

A letter on the official stationery of the Communist Party of San Francisco addressed to a Communist in a veteran organization was introduced into the record. The letterhead bore the following:

"*The Communist Party of San Francisco*, 701 Garfield Building, 942 Market Street, Telephone EXbrook 2997, San Francisco 2." The letter is as follows:

"Dear Comrades: We enclose a copy of an announcement of the California Labor School describing their veteran's department. We send this to you with the suggestion that you should give serious consideration to registering as a student of the California Labor School.

"Comradely,

"(Signed) Aubrey Grossman,
"Educational Director."

Hazel Grossman is prominently connected with the *California Labor School*. She was formerly Social Science Director at the old *Communist Party Tom Mooney Labor School*. She is the wife of Aubrey Grossman, Educational Director of the Communist Party of San Francisco.

One of the courses taught by Mrs. Grossman is entitled "Capitalism and Socialism." This particular course, according to one of the pamphlets issued by the school, is described as "An analysis and study of socialism, including the evaluation of developments in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics." The description of the course further states that the following questions are discussed: "Is Fascism a form of Capitalism? Who are the imperialists of today? Is there a necessary connection between the nature of a nation's economic system and its policy? What is the status of the trade union under capitalism and socialism? How has the Soviet Union solved the problem of jobs and security?"

It has already been pointed out in this Report that when the *League of American Writers* disbanded its school in Hollywood, it loaned a thousand dollars to the *People's Educational Center*, and the original PEC library was obtained from the *Communist Party Workers' School in Los Angeles*. Jenkins testified that the Communist Party west coast publication, the *People's Daily World*, advanced \$3,000 to the *California Labor School*, and the *Tom Mooney Labor School* donated its entire library to the new Communist institution. Jenkins also admitted that the *California Labor School* maintains an account with the *International Book Store in San Francisco*, the Communist Party book-center in the Bay area for the distribution of its literature.

Jenkins testified that *American Youth for Democracy (Young Communist League)* occupied space in the same building with the *California Labor School*, at 216 Market Street in the City of San Francisco. As a matter of fact, Jenkins admitted that the Communist youth organization rented its space from the *California Labor School*.

POLITICAL ACTIVITIES OF THE CALIFORNIA LABOR SCHOOL

Jenkins flatly declared that the *California Labor School* did not engage in political activity. He admitted, however, under examination, that the *California Labor School* had participated vigorously in a "School for Political Action," sponsored by certain labor organizations at Asilomar over the week-end of August 2-4, 1946. The literature for the "School for Political Action," in possession of the committee, announced that "Lecturers and discussion leaders include Jules Carson, instructor, *California Labor School*; Oscar Fuss, Director, Northern California Division, *National Citizens Political Action Committee*; David Hedley, Secretary, *California Political Action Committee*; David Jenkins, Director, *California Labor School*."

Advance notices on the Asilomar meeting announced, among other things, that the list of invited speakers included Harry Bridges; Albert Dekker, former State Assemblyman; Helen Gahagan Douglas, Congresswoman from Southern California; Augustus Hawkins, Member of the California Assembly; George Irvine, California Legislative Board, *Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers*; Mervyn Rathborne, Secretary-Treasurer, *California CIO Council* and Dr. Holland Roberts, Educational Director of the *California Labor School*.

Jenkins' *California Labor School* was so close to the political meeting at Asilomar that it agreed to handle reservations for the meeting.

David Hedley, listed as one of those to appear at the *Political Action School* at Asilomar, is Secretary of the *California Political Action Committee*. A subpoena was issued for his appearance at the committee's Oakland hearing. The subpoena was served by a member of the San Francisco Police Department who reported that Hedley appeared to be in good health at the time of service. After the committee's hearing was under way in Oakland the chairman received a communication from a San Francisco physician stating that Mr. Hedley would be unable to obey the subpoena because of ill health. Because Hedley assumed to direct the political activities of members of the CIO and had set himself up as the chief adviser on political candidates in California, the committee was shocked and amazed to learn that he had not been admitted to American citizenship and, therefore, was unable to cast a vote himself in the State's elections. Upon his failure to appear before the committee, his alien registration number from the Department of Naturalization and Immigration was read into the record. The committee later learned that numerous newspaper reporters had managed to contact Hedley asking for a statement as to his citizenship status, and, in all cases, the reporters were told that he had no comment to make whatever.

It developed that Jenkins, as Director of the *California Labor School*, was active in arranging the details and securing the personnel for various panel discussions held on the campus of the *University of California* at Berkeley in connection with the *Institute for Labor Education and World Peace*, jointly sponsored by the school and the university. Jenkins' testimony concerning the selection of panel personnel is significant, not only because of its connection with the Communist *California Labor School*, but also because of its connection with the Communist front organization formerly known as the *Fédération of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians*, an alleged CIO union.

Q. (By Mr. Combs): How about assigning each of these individuals to a particular group? Now, for example, take group 4, "Scientific Progress. Chairman, Robert Cornog, Staff, Los Alamos Project." And then comes, "Speakers. A. C. Helmholtz, Assistant Professor of Physics; David Adelson, President, *Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians*, Local 25." On the advisory council is Franklin Fearing, Professor of Psychology, *University of California*, Los Angeles; and Lloyd Luckman, Director *International Center*; Professor of Labor Relations, *University of San Francisco*.

How were those people, for example, selected to participate in the discussions on scientific progress?

A. Well, almost in all cases of the panels we asked the university to choose a number of people from the university, which they are responsible for choosing, and we choose a couple of people.

A. Who did you choose on panel 4? That's the one on scientific progress.

A. We proposed Adelson, and he was acceptable, and I think we proposed Lloyd Luckman.

Q. All right.

A. The reason we proposed Adelson, he was one of the few scientists we knew. He was also a union man. And Lloyd Luckman because of his connection with the international scene and his general interest in the atomic bomb meeting, which I think was held prior to the conference, where he sponsored his board—sponsored Major General Monroe Doidge's bureau. He sponsored a meeting where Harold Urie spoke, a world famous physicist. Of my own knowledge. I don't know much about him.

Q. This was connected primarily with the research, wasn't it?

A. Yes, a haze just went by my eyes here (indicating).

Q. It was connected primarily with the atomic research?

A. Yes.

Q. That is the reason you selected David Adelson, because of his familiarity with that general project?

A. We thought as well the project—this section would cover general use in science, both for peace as well as war.

Q. I see.

A. Our intention was to orientate this panel in the fashion so that people would recognize the horrible implication of a war of any kind with the new scientific weapons, and our intention was, you know, to orientate the thing in such a fashion to say peace was a vital and necessary thing for the continuation of civilization.

Q. I see.

A. And we wanted social scientists as well as just scientists in the traditional sense to participate, men who combined the two.

Q. Adelson at that time was president of whatever local number it happened to be of the FAECT?

A. I really don't know.

Q. Well, he was because —

A. I'll take your word for it.

Q. Yes. All right. Now, just one or two questions, and I'll be through. Mr. Adelson is president of the *Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians*, Local 25, CIO.

A. I think you should know that was not the reason he was called.

Q. I understand.

A. You seem to think I involved Adelson for some ulterior motive. He realistically is the one scientist interested in the subjects and involved in the labor movement.

Dr. Holland Roberts, Educational Director of the *California Labor School*, was called to the witness stand when Jenkins had concluded his testimony. Roberts stated that he had been a member of the Board of Directors of the Tom Mooney Labor School in San Francisco and that he had taught a course in that institution. It developed that Roberts' "doctor" was purely an honorary title and that he had never received an academic doctor's degree from any educational institution.

The members of the committee had been amazed in learning that David Jenkins had no educational background whatsoever qualifying him for the position of "director" and had already concluded that his \$100 per week salary was more by way of compensation for his Communistic education than for his scholarship. The committee, on the other hand, was more or less astounded to learn that Holland Roberts, a professional educator who had taught at *Stanford University* and other institutions of higher learning, received but \$75.

Roberts stated that he had been socially and professionally acquainted with Dr. Thomas Addis while at *Stanford University*. The Communist front organization activity of Dr. Thomas Addis is well known in California.

Roberts had been a member of the Board of Directors of the *American-Russian Institute* in San Francisco for a number of years and, at the time of testifying, he stated that he was the president of the board.

He had been a member of the *Western Writers Congress* in 1936.

Among other Communist transmission belts with which Roberts was connected were the *Model Youth Legislature of Northern California* (1939), the *Academic and Civil Rights Council of California*, and *American Youth for Democracy*. He had visited the Soviet Union. He admitted that he was acquainted with Aubrey Grossman, Educational Director of the Communist Party of San Francisco County. His deep interest in things Russian had led him to participate in a forum-series sponsored by the Russian Relief and the *American-Russian Institute* in San Francisco. In company with Bartley Crum and Sidney Roger, a left-wing radio commentator, he participated in a program entitled "What's on Your Mind About Russia" on July 9, 1946, in San Francisco. (*People's Daily World*).

THE COMMUNIST PRESS AND THE CALIFORNIA LABOR SCHOOL

The West Coast organ of the *Communist Party*, the *People's Daily World*, has been lavish in its publicity boosting the *California Labor School*. From time to time the periodical has carried a column entitled "Labor School Notebook." In the issue of September 3, 1946, there appears a three column article entitled "Labor School Fall Term Begins—Faculty Enlarged; 25 New Courses." This article announces that "Veterans at the California Labor School receive subsistence up to \$90 per month, as provided by the GI Bill." In the same issue, in the classified advertisement section, are five items, which, reading vertically down the column are as follows:

"Communist Party Friday Forum every Friday at 228 McAllister Street, 8 p.m., admission free."

"Sunday symphonies at 8; recorded classical music. Hazel and Aubrey Grossman's, 81 Lina Vista Terrace, 50-cent donation to P.W."

"Si Stanley sings! Saturday, September 7th. Dancing, games. 1433 Divisadero, 50 cents P.W. Brown-Fillmore Communist Clubs."

"The *California Labor School* presents two lively and informative lectures by the author of 'Man's Worldly Goods,' 'The Truth About Unions,' and President-Editor of *Pamphlet Press*, Leo Huberman. Tuesday, September 3d, 7 p.m., 'The Economic Background of Industrial Strife,' Wednesday, September 4th, 8.30 p.m., 'The Truth About Unions,' 16 Market Street, Room 601, special fee 50 cents."

"School opens today, 102 classes—afternoon and evening for workers, housewives, veterans. Also accredited for veterans under the GI Bill. Register for a 5-, 10- or 15-week course. *California Labor School*, 216 Market Street, DOuglas 7494."

In the issue for September 4, 1946, the *People's Daily World* carries an announcement of the appointment of several new members to the faculty of the *California Labor School*, including that of Sylvain Schneitacher of Richmond, to succeed Gordon Williams as director of the Oakland school. (Williams, incidentally, was a registered member of the Communist Party).

The Communist paper for September 12, 1946, announces new courses for Berkeley at 2805 Ellsworth Street and in the Unitarian Church at the corner of Bancroft and Dana Streets in the same city.

Other *People's Daily World* items concerning the *California Labor School* appear in the issues of September 19, September 21, September 26, and November 21, 1946. In the last issue referred to, the committee finds an announcement for a class on "Youth and Its Problems."

FEDERAL AID FOR COMMUNISM

On October 20, 1946, the following article appeared in the *Oakland Tribune*:

"AFL unions halt Labor School aid. Several Alameda County AFL labor unions have informed the Alameda County Central Labor Council that they have followed the council's suggestion to withdraw all support from the Oakland branch of the *California*

Labor School, William Fee, Assistant Secretary of the Council, announced yesterday.

"The council voted to suggest such action to its member unions at a recent meeting. The State Legislature's Joint Interim Committee on Un-American Activities has been investigating the charges of Communist Party influence in the labor school."

Under the title "Labor School Periled—Bradley may support move to deny funds to veterans," the *People's Daily World* for November 24th, from the *Daily People's World* Washington Bureau, appears the following:

"Attempts to deny Veterans Administration funds to ex-GI's attending the *California Labor School* may receive the support of Gen. Omar Bradley in the future, it is indicated here.

"Bradley, who heads VA, is known to disapprove of payments to the labor school, but the GI Bill of Rights forbids him to do anything about it.

"Approval of a school for benefits under the program is strictly up to the individual states, the law stipulates.

"Bradley is reliably reported to have said on at least one occasion he would like to have power to interfere in determining payments, particularly in relation to the labor school.

"What he intends to do about it is difficult to say, but it is conceivable that he will let state officials know his views on the matter. And he may inform Congressmen that a change in the act would be desirable.

"Only labor institution in the country that is receiving VA funds, the San Francisco school, has been attacked by some American Legion and Amvet leaders as 'Communistic' and 'subversive.'

"Bradley recently told a group of George Washington students there is a 'Communistic' school from which VA would like to withdraw its support, but can't because the school is approved by the State.

"The local press was quick to identify the institution as the *California Labor School*."

It should be needless to state, after the foregoing, that the committee unanimously found the *California Labor School* to be a creature of the Communist Party.

COMMUNISM AND THE UNIVERSITY PRESS

The committee has protested from time to time to the *University of California* concerning the printing of a quarterly magazine, edited, among others, by John Howard Lawson. As far as the committee has been able to learn the university has done nothing about these protests. The magazine is called the *Hollywood Quarterly*.

In this connection it is interesting to learn that the Communist Party has launched a new quarterly under the bourgeois principles of "private enterprise." John Howard Lawson, of course, is one of the editors.

This new Communist venture into the intellectual field is to be called *Mainstream*. Its editor is none other than Comrade Samuel Sillen, foremost exponent of Marxian dialectic and advocate of the slogan, "Art Is a Weapon." The editorial board of the new quarterly is composed of Gwendolyn Bennett, Alvah Bessie, Milton Blau, Arnaud D'Usseau, Howard Fast, Michael Gold, V. J. Jerome, John Howard Lawson, Meridel Le Sueur, W. L. River, Dalton Trumbo, Theodore Ward, and Don West.

In announcing the new quarterly, the editors outline the magazine's purposes, in part, as follows:

"In launching a Marxist literary quarterly at this time, the editors of *Mainstream* aim to meet a serious need of American cultural life."

* * * * *

"*Mainstream* strives to stimulate Marxist thinking in literature and the creative arts.

"The fundamental character of this magazine is determined by its allegiance to the Marxist science of history, culture, and human progress which in our age has inspired such writers as Gorky and Sholokhov, Barbusse and Aragon, Nexo and O'Casey and Dreiser. We believe that American writing will be immeasurably enriched by the further advance of Marxist ideas and values."

* * * * *

"We call upon writers to fight anti-Negro, anti-Semitic, anti-labor and *anti-Communist* influences in writing today. We oppose all currents of mysticism, defeatism, and snobbism; we combat such degraded influences as Trotskyite nihilism in the literary field; we fight the literary anti-Soviteers who constitute an auxiliary legion of the warmakers." (Committee's italics.)

The editors announce stories by Thomas Bell, Alvah Bessie, Millen Brand, Howard Fast, Ben Field, Michael Gold, Arnold Manoff, Meridel Le Sueur, Albert Maltz, Arthur Miller, Alexander Saxton, and Dalton Trumbo.

Poems are announced by Milton Blau, Gwendolyn Brooks, Joy Davidman, Langston Hughes, Alfred Kreymborg, Thomas McGrath, Martha Millet, Norman Rosten, John Sanford, Isidor Schneider, Melvin B. Tolson and Don West.

The forthcoming issues of *Mainstream*, so the editors tell us, will contain critical essays by Edwin Berry Burgum, Arnaud d'Usseau, James Gow, Louis Harap, Milton Howard, Charles Humboldt, Dan James, V. J. Jerome, Millard Lampell, John Howard Lawson, W. L. River, Samuel Sillen, Marion Summers and Theodore Ward.

Mainstream will also feature *Letters From Abroad* from such outstanding comrades as Louis Aragon, Jean-Richard Bloch, Ilya Ehrenburg, Roger Garaudy, Allen Hutt, Agon Erwin Kisch, Juan Marinello, Martin Anderson Nexo, Sean O'Casey, Anna Seghers, Konstantin Simonov, Elio Vittorini and Friedrich Wolf.

The magazine was scheduled to appear in January, 1947, and is to be distributed nationally by the *New Century Publishers, Inc.*, 832 Broadway, New York City. It will sell for 50 cents a single copy or \$2 per year. Foreign comrades will have to pay 50 cents additional to cover postage.

ORIGIN OF THE HOLLYWOOD QUARTERLY

Following the Communist-inspired *Writers' Congress* held at the *University of California at Los Angeles* the University joined hands with the Communist front organization, the *Hollywood Writers' Mobilization*, in the publication of a magazine called the *Hollywood Quarterly*. A committee was created representing the University, and it met with a similar committee of the *Hollywood Writers' Mobilization*, out of which came perfected plans for the magazine.

Despite protests made by this committee and James H. Corley, the Comptroller of the *University of California*, the periodical was launched as a joint venture by the University of California and the *Hollywood Writers' Mobilization*. It is published by the *University of California Press*.

A pamphlet advertising the *Hollywood Quarterly* for the October, 1946, issue states the following:

"The *Hollywood Quarterly* is sponsored jointly by the *University of California* and the *Hollywood Writers' Mobilization* and is published by the *University of California Press*. It is edited by Franklin Fearing, professor of psychology, *University of California* at Los Angeles; Franklin P. Rolfe, associate professor of English, *University of California* at Los Angeles; Samuel T. Farquhar, manager of the *University of California Press*; Kenneth MacGowan, motion picture producer; and John Howard Lawson, screenwriter."

Those familiar with the subtle language employed in Communist propaganda for *innocents* will readily understand the following description of the *Hollywood Quarterly*:

"Thinking people are beginning to recognize the potentialities of screen, radio, and television—fields long monopolized for entertainment alone. Motion pictures have been criticized for *commercialism*, for providing celluloid *day-dreams*, for pandering to the lowest tastes in entertainment for the sake of the box office. Radio has been criticized for using the air to sell everything from soap to automobiles. Television is already being used as an advertising medium. The *Hollywood Quarterly* presents a new viewpoint.

"The editors recognize the basic importance of these media to our society; they believe that a *social* and artistic evaluation will result in higher cultural standards and a more general appreciation of *social* responsibilities. The quarterly carries articles by writers, technicians, educators, *social* scientists, and others concerned with the techniques of screen and radio and their effect on the public. It discusses writers' techniques, technological changes, the ethics of entertainment, censorship, training films, animated cartoons, educational radio, *documentary* motion pictures, and the use of music in motion picture and radio production." (Committee's italics.)

Samuel T. Farquhar, manager of the *University of California Press*, was subpoenaed before the committee at its Oakland hearing. He stated that the publication of the *Hollywood Quarterly* commenced in October of 1944 and that the contents were copyrighted in the name of the Regents

of the *University of California*. He testified that the editorial board of the periodical was composed of Franklin Fearing, Franklin P. Rolfe, Kenneth MacGowan, John Howard Lawson and himself.

It is quite obvious that three of the editorial board of five can control the publication's policy. The Communist activities of John Howard Lawson are now well known. The sympathies and activities of Franklin Fearing are fairly well detailed in this report.

Kenneth MacGowan taught a course on Motion Picture Direction at the *People's Educational Center* in Los Angeles and is a member of the *Hollywood Writers' Mobilization*. He was formerly connected with the Communist transmission belt, the *Hollywood Democratic Committee*, *Hollywood Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions* and the *Writers' Congress*.

In spite of this information which was made known to the *University of California*, Kenneth MacGowan was given a position on the faculty of the university teaching the same course he had taught at the *Communist Party's People's Educational Center* in Los Angeles.

Samuel T. Farquhar's attitude concerning the strange marriage between the *University of California* and the Communist *Hollywood Writers' Mobilization*, out of which issued the *Hollywood Quarterly*, is revealed by the following excerpts from his testimony:

Q. (By Mr. Combs) : Would you be able to determine whether the Communist Party has anything inserted in the magazine?

A. Only by inference. I can't see any place in these magazine articles with such a line.

Q. Do you think you would recognize it if it was there?

A. I think I would.

Q. You know they are very subtle in their dialectic insinuations in all journalistic work?

A. I believe they are.

Q. (By Chairman Tenney) : I don't want to put you on the spot, but do you believe it is a good policy for the *University of California* to have anything whatsoever to do with a publication * * * (edited by) a former editor—associate-editor of the chief organ of the *Communist Party of America* * * * at that time a section of the *Third International* * * * do you think it is a good thing for the University to be associated in such an enterprise?

A. Unfortunately, I think they appointed the wrong editor. I don't think his being on it if he writes purely technical material has anything to do with his previous condition of servitude.

Q. (By Mr. Combs) : You think it was a mistake he (John Howard Lawson) was appointed editor, do you?

A. Apparently it was. I would rather see somebody else.

Q. Wouldn't it be far better to have people on a magazine of that kind who had no taint of any subversive background or activity?

A. I quite agree with you. I did not appoint the editors.

Q. I understand. We're just getting your opinion. All you have to do with the printing, of course, is on the board of editors?

A. I'm on there, I think, to see nothing subversive is run in the magazine.

Q. Mr. Farquhar, may I just make one observation, and this by way of assumption; this is merely a hypothetical case: Assume that a front organization such as the *Hollywood Writers Mobilization* was, as we have reason to believe it is, a Communist front organization and they wish to divest themselves of suspicion and clothe themselves with dignity and respect, and they could persuade an institution like the *University of California* to join hands with them in a joint publication of a magazine, even if it were a Sears-Roebuck catalogue or something entirely without any subversive taint; don't you think the mere fact that they were engaged jointly in an enterprise like that with an institution like the *University of California* would add immeasurably to their prestige?

A. I think it would, yes.

Q. That is one purpose they could gain?

A. That's correct. I see your point.

Q. Without printing one word of subversive material in it.

A. Yes.

The members of the committee are convinced that the Regents of the *University of California* should take immediate steps to rid the University of its Moscow devotees and sever relations with such outstanding Communists as John Howard Lawson and his Communist front group, the *Hollywood Writers' Mobilization*. Those responsible at the university should take immediate action in this direction. If this is not done during the current session of the Legislature the committee strongly urges that legislative action be undertaken that will effectually put a stop to the improper use of the university's name and dignity by individuals and groups that seek to destroy the form of government under which the university flourishes.

IMPROPER USE OF THE STATE UNIVERSITY'S NAME

The University of California is not a sacred cow. It is supported from taxes paid by the people of the State of California. The people are proud of their great university and are jealous of its great reputation. Every member of the faculty of the University of California is an employee of the State of California. The people have a right to expect its employees to safeguard the trust the employees have voluntarily assumed.

When it is learned that the university, through some of its faculty members, is actively collaborating with Communist front organizations; when university professors are actually lecturing at Communist controlled schools; when university officials appoint individuals to its faculty knowing that such individuals have been connected with Communist dominated organizations; when responsible heads of a university permit the joint sponsorship of a magazine with the Communist *Hollywood Writers' Mobilization* and permit a known Communist and former associate editor of the official Communist publication, the *Daily Worker*, to coedit such a magazine; when the Dean of the Extension Division is discovered to be a sponsor of the Communist *California Labor School*

directed by a registered Communist—it appears to be high time for the Legislature to take action.

These charges are not imaginary. Each one is fully documented and supported by overwhelming proof.

Anyone who has read this report or former reports of the committee must have observed the enthusiasm with which Communists use the dignity and prestige of the *University of California*. The committee has observed that the efforts of the Communist Party to couple its front organizations with the university has increased rapidly during the past several years.

This technique is merely an extension of the window-dressing principle.

The committee learned that the *Young Men's Christian Association* in Berkeley refers to itself as the "*University Y. M. C. A.*" as does the *Young Women's Christian Association*. When the committee's investigators learned that these organizations permitted known members of the Communist Party to use its facilities, Harry L. Kingman of the Y. M. C. A. and Lily Margaret Sherman of the Y. W. C. A. were subpoenaed.

Part of Harry L. Kingman's testimony follows:

Q. (By Mr. Combs): Now, I show you a letterhead which purports to be on the stationery of the *Young Men's Christian Association of the University of California*, dated December 29, 1944, and ask you whether or not this is an official letterhead of the *Young Men's Christian Association*, Stiles Hall, on Union Street?

A. That's right.

Q. Now, Mr. Kingman, is the Y. M. C. A. in any way connected with the *University of California*?

A. No, it's not connected in any way. The university has no responsibility. May I say also that that would be true of the city Y. M. C. A.

Q. Yes. I'm only speaking of this particular one.

A. I mean the city Y. M. C. A.'s would have no specific responsibilities or organic ties. We're autonomous.

Q. Mr. Kingman, when the letterhead reads "*Young Men's Christian Association of the University of California*," wouldn't that imply some connection between the two organizations?

A. Well, the organization was created back in 1884 and apparently the board or whoever started it named it that probably as a convenience. The Y. M. C. A. is called the Berkeley Y. M. C. A. to differentiate it from the Oakland Y. M. C. A.

Q. Of course, if it were called even the University Y. M. C. A., it would be quite different wouldn't it? But it doesn't read that way. It reads, "*Young Men's Christian Association of the University of California*," which is quite a different thing, isn't it?

A. That's the name under which it was incorporated.

Q. Yes, you're not responsible for that, of course, are you?

A. No.

Lily Margaret Sherman testified as follows:

Q. (By Mr. Combs): And on the inside of the folder at the top is the title, "*Y. W. C. A. of the University of California* Program, Spring Term, 1946." You're familiar with that, aren't you?

A. Yes.

Both Harry L. Kingman and Lily Margaret Sherman testified that it was the policy of their respective organizations to permit known members of the Communist Party to speak in their buildings. By coupling the names of these organizations with the *University of California* the general public is led to believe that Communist activities at the Berkeley Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A. are also sponsored by the university.

The committee recommends that the Legislature remedy this situation by the enactment of proper legislation providing a penalty for the unauthorized use of the name of the *University of California*.

COMMUNISM IN CALIFORNIA'S PUBLIC SCHOOLS

The committee and the people of California have been aware for a long time that many teachers in the Public School System of California have been inoculated with the virus of Communism. While the committee is happy to report that the great majority of California school teachers are loyal Americans, fully discharging their responsibilities to both the youth of the State and the taxpayers, the handful of frustrated, muddle-headed Stalinites within the system do inestimable harm to California's coming generation.

The Soviet aberration among certain school teachers is strongly indicated by the past activities of the A. F. of L. Teachers Union. Acting under the guise of a labor union "prerogative," members of the teachers unions have affiliated with and taken part in the tumultuous crusades conducted by Communist front organizations. Indicative of the Soviet orientation is a letter to the editor of *Soviet Russia Today* written by a school teacher in California. Under the heading "The Most Important Cause," the committee finds the following in the January, 1947, issue of the Communist magazine:

"I am a teacher in the public schools here. Maybe I am not very tactful, but all the teachers here and the townspeople, for the most part, look upon Russia just as the newspapers and radio tell them to. As yet, the only way I can help is to help financially. I am enclosing my warrant for teaching during September. Will you plainly endorse it with a 'Soviet Russia Today' stamp, as I would like my superintendent to know that I am contributing to a cause which I think is the most important cause in the world today.

Muriel Roberts Kemp

San Jacinto, California."

Undoubtedly the first patriotic impulse of Muriel Roberts Kemp's superintendent would be to rid California's school system of such a teacher and her flagrant flaunting of pro-Communism. The laws of the State in this regard, however, are unquestionably weak in such cases and the Legislature, desiring to protect the great majority of splendid American instructors in the California School System, do well to approach the problem with caution. This situation, incidentally, is one of the strongest bits of armour in the Communist attack on American institutions.

Indicative of the propaganda barrage on frustrated school teachers who donate their warrants to *Soviet Russia Today*, is the following from the same publication:

A Book for Children

"*The Land of the Russian People*, by Alexander Nazaroff. *Photographs from Sovfoto and The National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Inc., J. B. Lippincott, Philadelphia, 160 pp. \$2.00. 1944.*

"Combining geography and history Alexander Nazaroff has written a very readable book for school children of junior high and high school age. The first four chapters of 'The Land of the Russian People' takes us on a journey from Vladivostok by trans-Siberian Railway across the immense stretch of the Soviet Union to Moscow and Leningrad, thence by plane to Archangel for a glimpse at the Arctic world, then from Kiev to Samarkand via the Ukraine, the Caucasus and the Georgian Republic. The rest of the book is a condensed history of Russia from the early Slav tribes of the eighth and ninth centuries to the time of the overthrow of the tsar and the establishment of the Soviet state, with a final page devoted to the U. S. S. R. at war against Nazi Germany. The photographs are well chosen and an integral part of the book. Recommended for school study."

So that the mental processes of neurotic school teachers will be properly conditioned, we find the following in the January, 1947, issue of *Soviet Russia Today*:

"Soviet Children and Their Care, by Rose Maurer. Illustrated. 10 cents.

"Soviet Constitution.

"The complete text, with all amendments. Only American edition in print. 10 cents.

"The Baltic Soviet Republics. With an introduction by Frederick L. Schuman. Background and recent developments. 10 cents.

"Soviet Women, by Rose Maurer. Illustrated. 15 cents.

"Organized Labor in U. S. S. R., by Edwin S. Smith. A vast amount of information is packed into these forty-odd pages. 10 cents.

"Bibliography on the Soviet Union. For Teachers and Students. List of Sources and Supplementary Teaching Materials (Mimeographed). 10 cents.

"Bibliography on Women, Child Care and the Family in the U. S. S. R. A Guide to Reading and Study (Mimeographed). 5 cents.

"20 percent discount on quantities of 10 or more on all publications listed here.

"From Soviet Russia Today, 114 E. 32d St., New York 16, N.Y."

NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION ON "SOVIET RUSSIA TODAY"

It should be needless for the Committee to point out that the publication "*Soviet Russia Today*" is a pro-Communist, pro-Soviet magazine. Every official Committee investigating this periodical is unanimous in placing it in the category of Communist-Soviet propaganda.

The following letter from the Director of the Research Division of the *National Education Association* is of importance:

February 27, 1947

Mrs. Murial Roberts Kemp,
San Jacinto, California.
Dear Mrs. Kemp:

Your letter of Feb. 20 to the NEA staff has been referred to the Research Division for comment. We do not have any facilities whereby we can identify either the financial or administrative forces behind the publication 'Soviet Russia Today.' Whether or not it has direct connections with the Soviet government is, of course, something that probably is not known for certainty even by the investigative agencies in the government service. In other words, these contacts and relationships behind the scenes come and go and change under the pressure of public opinion. However, I do not see any objection to a teacher today subscribing to publications of this character. If the government allows these publications to be printed in the United States, distributed by the United States mails and the American Railway Express in an open and above board manner, I see no reason why teachers shouldn't include this type of thing in their total reading program.

With respect to the fact that you had a letter printed in this particular publication should, in my opinion, put you in the same category of some of the recent contributors to the magazine which I understand include Joseph E. Davies, Harold L. Ickes, Rt. Rev. Hewlitt Johnson, Senator James E. Murray, Bishop G. Bromley Oxman and others whom I have never heard described as Communists.

Cordially yours,

(S) Frank W. Hubbard

COMMUNISM AT CANOGA PARK HIGH SCHOOL

This report has heretofore pointed out in some detail that Mrs. Dorothy Healy, Secretary of the *Communist Party of Los Angeles County*, is a member of the Board of Directors of the *Communist People's Educational Center*. Co-serving with the Secretary of the Communist Party on the school's board is Mrs. Frances R. Eisenberg, a teacher at *Canoga Park High School*, Los Angeles County.

The committee had been flooded with protests from parents of students attending the *Canoga Park High School* protesting the alleged Communist indoctrination injected into courses taught by Mrs. Eisenberg and another teacher by the name of Mrs. Blanche Bettington.

The committee and its investigators had no prior knowledge of the situation at Canoga Park and the complaints were entirely unsolicited.

The committee's investigators reported that the Canoga Park situation merited the committee's attention and, consequently, a number of students and parents, together with Mrs. Bettington and Mrs. Eisenberg, were subpoenaed to testify before the committee.

It should be noted here that the committee's investigators found many parents and students in Canoga Park who, although deploring

the teaching activities of the instructors, were loath to put themselves on record in opposition to the teachers because of fear of reprisals in possible low marks for the children attending the classes in question.

Among the students who testified before the committee was Franklyn Nofziger. He testified that he had taken a course in "Senior Problems" from Mrs. Bettington in the fall of 1941 and the spring of 1942. This course was allegedly designed to prepare students for adult life. Franklyn stated that the class was told by Mrs. Bettington that radio commentators such as Fulton Lewis, Jr., were "reactionary" and should never be listened to on the radio. He stated that the teacher emphatically expressed herself as being in favor of a "controlled economy" and vehemently argued from time to time with the students in justification of the Soviet Union's imperialistic aggression against Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia. She warmly expressed complete and emphatic disapproval of the Hearst publications and vigorously approved the picketing of the White House by the *American Student Union* (Communist youth organization), stating from time to time that the laboring classes of the United States always got a "dirty deal" from the government. Young Nofziger declared that the students were generally impressed with Mrs. Bettington's over-all opposition to a capitalist form of government. She continually emphasized the position of alleged racial-minorities and declared from time to time that such minorities were continually subjected to unfair prejudice and discrimination under the American system of government. The students were encouraged to read pro-Soviet books, including *Mission to Moscow*. Her recommendation for ex-Ambassador Davies' praise-of-things-Soviet was accompanied by the statement that "here is one of your capitalists who thinks Russia is all right." She also placed her stamp of approval on the books written by Carey McWilliams. (McWilliams' long record of affiliation and activity with Communist transmission belts is detailed throughout the Reports of the Committee.)

Part of Franklyn Nofziger's testimony follows:

Q. (By Mr. Combs): When you took the course; when you started to take the course, Mr. Nofziger, was it your impression that you were taking a course that was training you to adjust yourself to daily life?

A. That was what the course was supposed to be.

Q. In your opinion was that the manner in which the course was conducted?

A. Not exactly.

Q. What do you mean by that?

A. It dealt to a certain extent with buying. The greater part of the time consisted of arguing politics.

Q. Was the political discussion that took place in class while you were a member of it a free, open, objective and unbiased discussion, or was it slanted or pointed in any direction by your instructor, in your opinion?

A. My instructor, Mrs. Bettington, was always on the side of the Left. She argued one side with some of the kids, and some of us argued the other side. There was no impartiality there on her side."

Walter M. Ames, Jr., one of the students, testified that he was the President of the Student Body of *Canoga Park High School* and that he had taken a course from Mrs. Eisenberg. He stated that she had told the members of the class that they should never read such publications as *Life*, *Time* or the *Reader's Digest*, because these publications were "reactionary" and "unreliable." She highly recommended, on the other hand, the *New Republic* as being the proper "liberal" type of publication.

It should be noted in this connection that the *Reader's Digest* has carried articles written by such noted anti-Communist authors as Eugene Lyons, Max Eastman and Victor Kravchenko. Some time back the *Reader's Digest* published a condensation of W. L. White's best-seller, *Report on the Russians*, exposing life under Communism in the Soviet Union. This condensation apparently did great harm to Communism in the United States, and the comrades were screaming in unison from 13th Street in New York to Sixth Street in Los Angeles. Communist Sender Garlin, formerly a columnist for the Communist *Daily Worker*, immediately wrote a pamphlet excoriating the *Reader's Digest* as a "capitalist-controlled publication" and the Communist book stores and literature distribution centers did their level best in getting the pamphlet into the hands of Communist and fellow-traveling teachers for distribution to students.

Rosemary Nofziger, another student at *Canoga Park High School*, testified that she had seen copies of the Communist Party east coast publication, the *Daily Worker*, tacked on the walls of Mrs. Eisenberg's classroom "more than once." She also declared that she had seen a sign tacked on the inside of the door to the classroom bearing the statement "A. F. of L. Teachers Union Unfair to Organized Labor."

Fern Geisinger testified that she had attended *Canoga Park High School* until the summer of 1945 when she was graduated. She had taken Mrs. Bettington's courses for two semesters, one in "Senior Problems" and another in "Student Government." Fern Geisinger's testimony, in part, is as follows:

Q. (By Mr. Combs): I mean by that was there any apparent effort to indoctrinate the student one way or another?

A. Well, there were many free discussions and you might say arguments with a great deal of commotion and disturbance. We were allowed to give all of our opinions in any manner or form that we wished to give them. I mean we could stand up and rant and rave if we wanted to and most of us did, but by the time we had said everything that we wanted to say there was an answer prepared, or anyway it sounded very prepared, and everything we said just made us look like we were so big (indicating). The more we talked the more foolish it made us look. No matter how much information we got from the outside and really worked to obtain it, when we presented it to the class it had no effect because what we said was either twisted or we did not have sufficient facts to combat the line of talk that we were confronted with.

Q. That was in whose class?

A. That was Mrs. Bettington's. I didn't have Mrs. Eisenberg.

Q. Now, in Mrs. Bettington's class was there any consistent criticism by her of the American form of government?

A. Well, what I think of as the American form of government — I mean what we mean by the American form of government; I don't know, but if capitalism has a lot to do with it, there was a great deal of criticism about capitalism.

Q. Against it?

A. Yes, against it, definitely, and a lot of discussion led to the fact that this country was built by labor and that capitalism did not enter into it at all and the more we argued about the fact that money was needed in the form of capitalism — well, we just didn't get anywhere, if you know what I mean.

Q. Was this form of capitalistic government compared with any other government?

A. Well, mostly it was compared with Russia.

Q. Was the Russian form of government approved or disapproved?

A. Oh, approved.

Q. Approved?

A. Yes.

Q. Did that have an effect upon the students, in your opinion?

A. Well, there were only about six of us that rose up in arms really and the rest just seemed to sit back, and if we had any discussions out of class they agreed completely with her, no matter what was said. We couldn't put over our ideas at all because they were so completely —

Q. (By Chairman Tenney): Ridiculed?

A. Well, no, but they just quoted word for word what she said and we didn't have any way of approaching them in any manner, you know. Really there were so many of them—now, I wouldn't say that I knew what I was talking about when I was in high school because I know many times I was in wrong, but all the time they would say things and you knew they didn't have any more background than just what we talked about in class. They would talk for hours on end, words, really, and just say what she said, not from what they read or what we learned in class out of books or anything, because we didn't have any books. It was just what she said.

Q. (By Mr. Combs): Was there any advice given to you to disregard the opinions of your parents in the home?

A. Well, not so much as direct advice, but I know many times I would say, "Well, I have always learned to the effect that such and such were true." When I said that she would say, "That is all wrong." Naturally, where would I get it but at home? If I said, "My father said this. He was listening last night and he said that," it wouldn't mean anything. It was just as if he didn't know what he was talking about. And I am sure a lot of the parents would not appreciate that if they knew what their opinions were going through in the classrooms. (Laughter.)

Q. I think that is all.

Q. (By Chairman Tenney) : I have just one or two questions. Have you heard of an organization in Canoga Park called *Youth for Democracy*?

A. No, I haven't heard of it in Canoga Park. I didn't know anything about that until I got to City College.

Q. Are you going to City College now?

A. Yes, I am.

Q. Have you heard of the organization there?

A. Yes. I had a very fine teacher in Public Speaking that was trying to combat a lot of the Communism in City College. He had us read a lot of literature about different organizations like that and told us to beware of the front that they put on, and that we were liable to get in with the wrong organizations if we didn't know more about them. So he had us all read these different things. So that is the way I learned about that. I wasn't acquainted with the organization.

Q. Is it generally known among the students at City College that *American Youth for Democracy* is the *Young Communist League*?

A. Well, now, I don't know. The ones I come in contact with are usually few on the political side of it. I couldn't say what their reaction was to it, but I know in his class he had an awful time making the students realize that that was Communism.

Q. Do you find among the students out there any evidences of Communistic indoctrination?

A. Oh, definitely.

Q. Lots of it?

A. Yes, very definitely.

Q. Summarizing your testimony, I think you have said practically this: That the instructor you have mentioned—by comparisons, innuendo, and subtle lectures and arguments—has compared the Russian Soviet Government to the American Government and the economy of both countries always in the light where our government and economy came off second best, is that about it?

A. Yes, that is more or less what I said.

AN AMERICAN TEACHER TESTIFIES

Miss Grace V. Mottram taught at *Canoga Park High School* for about 10 years and stated that she was familiar with the teaching methods employed by Mrs. Bettington and Mrs. Eisenberg. Miss Mottram's testimony, in part, is as follows:

A. (By Miss Mottram) : * * * One case that seemed significant at that time; the young lad who took into class a review of an article that he had found in "*The Reader's Digest*." This was to Mrs. Bettington's Senior Problems—so-called Senior Problems class. It had impressed him as being timely and well presented. I have forgotten what the material was. When he stated that he had found it in "*The Reader's Digest*," and I now quote the boy's own

words, "Mrs. Bettington shrieked at me and called out, 'It is nothing but a pack of lies, a pack of lies,' and in crescendo went on with 'a pack of lies'." When she quieted down he said, "No, Mrs. Bettington, it is not a pack of lies. It is taken from the *Christian Science Monitor*." Her answer reiterated the "pack of lies" and added, "Even if it came from the Monitor, *The Reader's Digest* would have changed it around until it still would have been a pack of lies." She didn't know what every newspaper columnist and newspaper, diplomat and informed reader knows, that no article is ever taken from the *Christian Science Monitor* and rearranged by anyone other than their own board of publishers, the publishing house.

One other instance that seemed so vital to me that from then on I helped every student regain the poise that I felt they had the right to when they came to me. It is very difficult for one well-trained to talk about another teacher's work. This day a group of students came into my room after school when I was working. They were very much excited about something. Finally one boy, whose name I didn't know then and I will not refer to now, came up to me and said, "Well, Miss Mottram, I don't care what Mrs. Bettington believes. That's her business. But I was taught at home and I have always been taught that America was the grandest country in the world; it offered more opportunity and we had more privileges and there was a lot of good in our country, and that was why I was grateful to be an American. But," he said, "up there in that class we hear everything in America is wrong; our systems are wrong. Everything is wrong. But in Russia it is all good; there is nothing but good there, and no criticism of the Russian system."

I think that typifies about all that those children brought to me during that period of time. He wound up and said, "Now, I know better than that stuff that they teach in Mrs. Bettington's," he said, "and I don't know why I have to listen to it."

Q. (By Mr. Combs) : Did you find that the students who came to you after having attended one of those classes were in a state of confusion and bewilderment?

A. Many times, so decidedly that if they were working on problems they could not do it that day. Time after time they laid them by until such time that they were ready and had particularly peace of mind to attack it. You can't do the two things.

* * * * *

Q. (By Chairman Tenney) : Did you have any discussions with the parents of these children or any of the parents in that community?

A. At the time, no, but since, yes.

Q. What has been their reaction to such conduct on the part of certain teachers?

A. Very much as mine. It is a vicious situation and has no part in American public schools.

A FATHER TESTIFIES

C. R. Prouty, Jr. is a resident of Canoga Park whose two daughters, Jolene and Sally Bird, attended *Canoga Park High School*. Jolene Prouty had taken a course under the tutelage of Mrs. Bettington in 1945. Mr. Prouty's testimony, in part, follows:

Q. (By Mr. Combs): Prior to the time that your daughter, Jolene, enrolled in that particular course, did she evidence at home any tendency toward a critical attitude of the American form of government or a tolerant attitude of the American variety of Communism or any radical tendencies of any kind?

A. Very definitely not.

Q. Did that situation change after she commenced taking the course from Mrs. Bettington?

A. It certainly did.

Q. Will you explain what you mean by that statement?

A. She started to turn into a young Communist—or what I think is a young Communist. She was so thoroughly indoctrinated with *isms* and ideals that are foreign—which I consider un-American—she started to become quite a problem in the home.

Q. Had she respected your opinions and your ideas and those of your wife prior to the time she had enrolled in the Course?

A. Yes, she had.

Q. Did that attitude change afterwards?

A. That attitude changed afterwards and we had many violent arguments over our relative beliefs.

* * * * *

Q. Did your daughter express admiration for the Soviet form of government?

A. Yes, she did.

Q. Did she express a critical attitude toward the American form of government?

A. A very definite critical attitude.

Q. Did she express any opinion about American Communists?

A. Yes, she felt that this being a free country they were entitled to free speech and an expression of their ideology as much as any one else in the country.

Q. Do you feel, or is it your opinion, that she——

A. It is definitely my opinion that she——

Q. Let me finish ——that she was inculcated with that sort of opinion and that sort of attitude as a result of taking the class?

A. Yes.

Q. Did she ever express to you an opinion that all persons who criticized Communism were reactionary?

A. Yes. I was a reactionary.

Q. Because you criticized Communism?

A. That is correct.

Q. Now, Mr. Prouty, have you talked to other students besides your daughter who took the same class?

A. I have talked to a number of students from Canoga Park, both among those who have graduated and those who are now attending school.

Q. With what result?

A. They are either thoroughly indoctrinated with ideologies that are un-American in my eyes or they are very much opposed to having ideas and ideals thrust down their throats that are contrary to those that they get at home.

Q. Is it your opinion that that situation resulted from the type of instruction they received in the class?

A. Yes.

Q. I think that is all unless you have something to add.

A. Well, I think our Los Angeles Public School system should eliminate ideas that are un-American, whether they are put in the children's minds by innuendo or how they are put there; that the courses should be so carefully outlined that that could not happen.

Q. As it has happened in your opinion in that particular school?

A. That is correct.

THE PRINCIPAL OF CANOGA PARK HIGH SCHOOL TESTIFIES

Charles H. Nettles is the principal of the *Canoga Park High School*. He testified that he was personally acquainted with both Mrs. Bettington and Mrs. Eisenberg. He stated that he had listened to the testimony of parents and students before the committee, and he stated unequivocally that he did not believe more than half of what he had heard. He was firm in his declaration that he did not believe either of the two teachers had been engaged in the indoctrination of Canoga Park students.

Examination of the witness indicated that he would have had little knowledge, in his capacity as principal, of the teaching methods used by the instructors in the school. It was quite apparent that he could have been easily deceived as to what was actually being taught throughout the institution. Assemblyman Albert L. Stewart of Pasadena, who had joined the committee as an observer, was interested in this phase of Mr. Nettle's testimony, and his examination of Mr. Nettle on this point is interesting:

Q. (By Mr. Stewart): You just stated you didn't know who, at the present time, was the teacher of civics in the eleventh grade?

A. Well, I don't have that right at my finger tips.

Q. Just a moment. I appreciate that. How many teachers do you have?

A. We have 43 in school.

Q. You are the supervising principal?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. You testified before this Committee you did not like anything taught in the schools except things that were conducive to the appreciation of American doctrines and the American principles

of life and that you did not know the *People's World* was hung up on the wall. Now, you testify you don't know who the teacher of this class is—the teacher who is endeavoring to indoctrinate the pupils with an appreciation of the American form of government. What do you know about your school?

A. I consider that an insult.

Q. That is all right. You may consider it as an insult. I am trying to find out what you know about your school.

A. I know plenty about it, sir.

Q. Who is this teacher?

A. I said I don't happen to know who the teacher was. I did not bring a schedule along.

Q. That is the point I was getting at.

A. Our teachers have all sworn to uphold the Constitution of the United States.

Q. That is all right.

A. They are all adequately prepared to teach and have teacher's credentials.

Mr. Stewart: Yet you don't know who is teaching the class in civics, as principal of the school. Your own evidence is all I wanted to get in the record.

Mr. Nettles' testimony, in part, continues:

Q. (By Assemblyman John F. Thompson): Do you investigate any publications or newspapers used in connection with the school work?

A. No. That is not my responsibility. That is done in the downtown office.

Q. Do you know if the *People's World* is sanctioned by the downtown office?

A. I don't believe it is, no.

* * * * *

Q. (By Senator Nelson S. Dilworth): In your testimony a moment ago you spoke about supporting our administration during the war. Are you still supporting the administration?

A. Indeed we are.

Q. (By Assemblyman Harold F. Sawallisch): Do you think it will support the administration when you permit teachers to tack the *People's World* on walls?

A. I didn't see it on the walls. I wouldn't have it on there if I knew about it.

Q. Do you have any reason to believe these students have perjured themselves before this committee?

A. I would take Mrs. Eisenberg's word before Rosemary Nofziger's word for it.

Q. You would.

A. Yes.

A voice from the audience: There are other students who have seen this.

Mr. Nettles: I am not saying it wasn't there. I am saying what I would take as a person's word.

Q. (By Mr. Thompson): Did you doubt the testimony of the young veteran in here this morning?

A. Yes, I did, very much.

Q. (By Mr. Sawallisch): You doubt anybody's words that disagree with you or your teachers, is that correct?

A. No, sir, it is not true.

Q. It is apparent to me that this is true.

* * * * *

Q. (By Mr. Combs): Mr. Nettles, if you knew there was a teacher in the school where you were principal who was a member of the board of directors of another institution and on the same board was the Secretary of the *Communist Party of Los Angeles County*, and evidence was produced thereafter that the same teacher had in your school done these things that have been testified to here, would you be inclined to believe it or disbelieve it?

A. Well, sir, I don't think any of the testimony about Russia has been against Mrs. Eisenberg particularly, as I remember it. I didn't know she was a member of the board of directors of the P. E. C. I didn't know what the P. E. C. was actually. I knew there was such a thing. I am taking your word.

Chairman Tenney: She testified to it.

Mr. Nettles: Yes, but I said I did not know that.

Mr. Sawallisch: Are you surprised?

Mr. Nettles: I am surprised it was the kind of organization it is, yes, sir, very much surprised.

Q. (By Chairman Tenney): When it has the Secretary of the *Communist Party of Los Angeles County* as a member of the board of directors, together with one of your teachers, what is your attitude?

A. I don't like it.

Q. What are you going to do about it?

A. I don't know. It depends on what I can do about it.

SCHOOL JOURNALISM AT CANOGA PARK HIGH

Harry Edson Robinson had been a newspaper publisher in Canoga Park for several years. He told the committee that he had published the *Canoga Park High School* paper for some time and was acquainted with many of the students who had attended classes under Mrs. Bettington and Mrs. Eisenberg. Mr. Robinson's testimony, in part, follows:

Q. (By Mr. Combs): How long have you resided in Canoga Park?

A. Six years the 24th of June.

Q. Do you know a man by the name of Edgar Davis or Davies?

A. Yes.

Q. Who was he?

A. He was a student at the *Canoga Park High School* and one semester was editor of the high school paper, "*The Hunter's Call*."

Q. "*The Hunter's Call*" is the name of the high school paper?

A. That is the name of it.

Q. What is it, Davis or Davies?

A. Davies, D-a-v-i-e-s.

Q. Do you know anything about an organization called "America for Americans"? Did you ever hear of it?

A. Well, that was an organization that he and some other young men wanted to organize. They talked it over with me and wanted to combat what they called a Communist influence in our high school.

Q. When did those conversations first occur?

A. Well, they took place over several weeks as he would come in and get the paper out and discuss things.

Q. About how long ago was that?

A. That was about two years ago, in the second year back.

Q. He discussed the matter with you from time to time, did he?

A. Yes.

Q. And other students at the school?

A. Yes.

Q. In connection with their work on the paper?

A. That is right.

Q. Did your office print that paper?

A. It did.

Q. So they had occasion to come in and out of your place of business regularly?

A. Yes.

Q. When was the last time you talked with him about this matter?

A. Well, he was only editor of the paper for one semester.

Q. It was during that period of time?

A. During that period, yes.

Q. At that time did he take any courses from either Mrs. Eisenberg or Mrs. Bettington?

A. Naturally, he took journalism as editor of the paper.

Q. He took journalism at that time?

A. Yes.

Q. What did he tell you in connection with his course in journalism?

A. He expressed himself as believing that the entire slant of news was towards Communism and the rest had no say-so.

Q. Did he give you any reason for his coming to that conclusion?

A. The things that he heard in the class.

Q. Which class?

A. Journalism class.

Q. Taught by whom?

A. Mrs. Frances Bettington.

Q. Mrs. Frances Bettington?

A. Or Mrs. Frances Eisenberg.

Q. Did you ever have any similar conversation with any other students besides him concerning the same matter?

A. Yes, sir. I practically had the same conversations with all of the editors. I have printed it for four years out of six.

Q. And they all told you the same thing?

A. They all felt they were being restricted, yes.

Q. And felt they were being subjected to radical propaganda?

A. Right.

Q. Did they use that language?

A. Yes, I will say they did.

Q. They told you, did they, that they felt they were being exposed to Communistic influence?

A. They did.

Q. They did? You are sure about that?

A. Well, Socialistic; and they said it was under the guise of liberalism and world friendship.

Q. Did they refer to this Friendship Group that the witnesses have testified about?

A. Yes, a number of times.

Q. That is the group which Carey McWilliams, Earl Robinson, Bob Hope and other people came and spoke before or entertained?

A. That is right.

Q. What was their opinion about that organization?

A. That the speakers were entirely on the one side.

Q. Did they say which side?

A. The Communistic side.

Q. Have you had any conversations with any other students who took courses from either Mrs. Bettington or Mrs. Eisenberg along the same lines?

A. A number of them. At various times groups would come in who really had no connection with the paper.

Q. Students who had taken one or both courses?

A. That is right.

Q. From one or both of those teachers?

A. Yes.

Q. They would come in and complain to you about the same matter?

A. Yes. They would talk it over.

Q. That was the purpose of it; that Davies had for proposing that they start an organization called "America for Americans" in the *Canoga Park High School*?

A. That is right.

Q. Was the organization ever started?

A. I don't believe it was—merely discussed a time or two.

Q. What, if anything, did you do about the matter?

A. Well, I had nothing to do with it whatsoever?

Q. Yes?

A. I merely listened to their stories and talked to them.

Q. Did you give them any advice or counsel about what to do?

A. No, not particularly.

Q. You thought it was their concern?

A. That is right.

* * * * *

Q. (By Senator Tenney): * * * were (the people of Canoga Park) aroused about the matter? Did they think it was all right, or what was the situation?

A. No. The situation had existed in all six years I have been there.

Q. Is it generally known throughout by the citizenry there and to the parents of the children?

A. I think it is very widely known.

Q. These boys have talked to you, you say. Did they resent the teaching of these doctrines?

A. Very much so.

Q. What was the feeling of the parents?

A. Well, I never went to the parents with the story at all.

* * * * *

Q. (By Mr. Combs): Do you know Guy Hills?

A. Yes. He was a sports editor last year.

Q. Did you ever have any conversation about these matters with him?

A. Quite frequently.

Q. Did he ever tell you that the reasons the students did not oppose Communist teachings in the school was because those who did found themselves in poor standing?

A. That is right.

Q. He told you that?

A. He didn't say "poor standing," but they found things happening to them.

Q. What kind of things?

A. That I don't know. He took it for granted that I knew.

A. About how long ago was it you had that conversation?

A. About a year ago. He was sports editor last year.

Q. At your office?

A. Yes.

Q. (By Senator Tenney): Would that mean the students going there who objected to this sort of thing would get bad grades?

A. I took it for granted that is what he meant or they found things that happened to them that were disagreeable.

Q. In other words, they did not have a very good time?

A. That is right.

Q. (By Mr. Combs): Did you have any conversation with the student editors of the paper as to the amount of editorial freedom they were permitted to use?

A. They had none.

Q. They had none? Why not?

A. It was all censored and purely operated by the journalism instructor.

Q. Who was the journalism instructor?

A. Mrs. Eisenberg.

Q. The student-editors all told you that, did they?

A. Not all of them; I wouldn't say all of them.

Q. Several?

A. Several.

Q. Those conversations took place at your office, did they?

A. Right.

Q. Did the student-editors of the paper or any of them ever express themselves as to the political trend of the paper?

A. Well, they felt that they had no right—it wasn't expressing their thoughts on Americanism—that they were being trained toward the socialistic or communistic angle.

Q. Did they express any opinion as to how that influence was being exerted?

A. Yes.

Q. By whom?

A. Well, of course, the Journalism class through Frances Eisenberg.

Q. She was the one who had the right to censor the articles that went into the paper, was that it?

A. Absolutely.

CANOGA PARK HIGH SCHOOL TEACHERS TESTIFY

Both Mrs. Frances R. Eisenberg and Mrs. Blanche Bettington were subpoenaed and testified.

Mrs. Eisenberg admitted that she was a member of the board of directors of the *People's Educational Center*. The Communist character of the Los Angeles local of the *American Federation of Teachers* is indicated by Mrs. Eisenberg's testimony. "As I recall it," she said, "the establishment of the school (PEC) was discussed at a regular meeting of the Teachers Union. The president of our union asked for volunteers to assist him on the board of directors and I volunteered temporarily." She wanted the committee to believe that she had become affiliated with the Communist *People's Educational Center* as a "delegate" of her union. Her elevation to the board of directors, according to her testimony, came about by some one merely putting her name "down as a member of the board." She admitted having attended board meetings five or six times. She remembered that one meeting was held at 1717 N. Vine and another

at an office in a Spring Street building. She believed that she had attended meetings in company with John Howard Lawson. She testified that she was acquainted with Dr. Franklin Fearing, Dr. Frank Davis and Fay Allen and other members of the board of directors of the *People's Educational Center*. She had attended meetings at which Albee Slade (Albee Slotkinoff) had been the speaker.

Mrs. Eisenberg's evasiveness is well illustrated by the following:

Q. (By Senator Tenney): You did not know or were not aware that Mr. Winter, Secretary of the *Communist Party*, was one of the lecturers at that school?

A. I don't know Mr. Winter at all.

Q. Do you know that Mrs. Healey is Secretary of the *Communist Party* in Los Angeles County now?

A. No.

Q. You don't know that?

A. No.

Q. Would that make any difference to you?

A. Well, I am surprised. I mean, I just didn't know about it.

Q. Does it make any difference now with your participation as a director in that school?

A. Well, the school exists for the adults in the community, and if they choose to go I guess it is their business.

Mrs. Blanche Bettington's testimony, in part, follows:

Q. (By Mr. Combs): You teach senior problems; and the other course was what, Mrs. Bettington?

A. Student government.

Q. And the course in senior problems, I presume, is much the same as the course taught by Mrs. Eisenberg, isn't it?

A. I follow a course of study.

Q. You heard her testimony, did you not?

A. Yes.

Q. If the same questions were asked you that I asked her concerning the method in which she conducted the class, would your answers be substantially the same?

A. I presume.

Q. Now, what about the class in student politics?

A. We don't have a class in student politics.

Q. What was it?

A. We have a class in student guidance and government.

Q. Guidance and government?

A. Yes.

Q. What kind of government is student government?

A. Once each day the student body officers and their cabinet meet with me for which the youngsters receive credit; at which time the children consider school problems that they are permitted to consider under the guidance of the school administration.

Q. How many students do you have in your class in senior problems?

A. I have three classes of senior problems. I have approximately, oh, probably 100 students altogether in senior problems.

Q. About 100 students altogether?

A. Yes.

Q. How many do you have in the other classes?

A. I think 21.

Q. Twenty-one students?

A. Yes.

Q. You don't know anything about the *People's Educational Center*, do you?

A. I know nothing about the *People's Educational Center*.

Q. You were never connected with it in any way, were you?

A. I know nothing about the *People's Educational Center*.

Q. You don't know any of the individuals whose names I have mentioned in the record as being connected with it?

A. I don't. I have heard some of the names. I have heard of Fearing at U. C. L. A. I believe he teaches there.

Q. No. I mean personal acquaintance?

A. No.

Q. Are you acquainted with Mr. Carey McWilliams?

A. I don't know Carey McWilliams. He spoke at a meeting at our school once, but I don't know him personally. I have read his books.

Q. How did he happen to speak at that meeting?

A. One of the *World Friendship Club* meetings at our school, Carey McWilliams was invited to speak with the permission of our school administration.

Q. What is the name of that organization?

A. It is the *World Friendship Club*.

Q. The *World Friendship Club*?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you have anything to do with the organization?

A. Yes, sir. I happen to be one of the sponsors at the *Canoga Park High School*.

Q. Who invited Mr. McWilliams to come there and speak, if you know?

A. I don't know who sent the letter to Mr. McWilliams. I just simply have forgotten. That must have been two or three years ago and I have forgotten—

Q. Yes, I understand.

A. —whether it was the club secretary or whether I did or whether the office did. I just don't remember.

Q. Then it is your testimony, Mrs. Bettington, that the invitation for Mr. McWilliams may have been made by you or somebody else, but you don't know who it was at this time?

A. I don't remember, no.

Q. All right. Do you know a man by the name of Earl Robinson?

A. Yes, I know an Earl Robinson.

Q. Yes?

A. I don't know Earl Robinson personally, though. He wouldn't know me.

* * * *

Q. When was Mr. Robinson there?

A. I have forgotten. Probably a year or a year and a half ago, something like that.

Q. Are the students urged to attend those functions?

A. It is entirely voluntary.

Q. I understand that; but are they urged to go?

A. That is up to them. I can't say that they were urged to go. They can become a member of the club and attend the meetings if they want to, and if they don't want to, they don't have to. It is up to them.

Q. It is not part of the course of education?

A. No, definitely. But I think you should understand it is approved by the downtown office and Mr. Blair, one of the assistant superintendents of schools happens to be the president in charge of all *World Friendship Clubs* in Los Angeles. He is there for Superintendent Kersey.

Q. Where are the meetings held?

A. The meetings have to be held in schools since they were under the supervision of the downtown office. We cannot hold them outside of the schools.

* * * *

Q. Now, you have testified in a general way that you conduct your class in senior problems in approximately the same manner that Mrs. Eisenberg conducts hers?

A. Well, I don't know just how she conducts her own.

Q. No, but I mean by that——

A. I believe in the course of study.

Q. ——you do not attempt to influence the thinking processes of your students, do you?

A. We discuss all phases. We have complete freedom of speech within the classroom.

Q. Do you try to do it objectively?

A. I reserve the right to express my opinion.

Q. Of course. But you do not reserve the right to enforce your opinion on students?

A. I certainly do not enforce my opinion.

Q. You do not attempt to do so?

A. If I did the course I give wouldn't mean anything, so I don't enforce my opinion.

Q. (By Senator Tenney): The expression of your opinion would influence the students, wouldn't it?

A. I think in a classroom any teacher expresses his or her opinion and any teacher who says he does not, does not tell the truth. You express your opinion by the views you have in the room; you express your opinion by the number of arguments and whatnot presented on each side. I think every teacher expresses an opinion. No person can live in a vacuum.

Q. And like journalism an opinion or a subject can be slanted in any direction, can't it?

A. Opinion may be slanted, yes.

* * * * *

By Mr. H. Sidney Laughlin, attorney for Mrs. Bettington and Mrs. Eisenberg:

Q. On this question of opinion and in your teaching; are you careful always to distinguish between opinion and fact?

A. I am. I always start every statement with, "This is my opinion." Opinion is something quite different from fact.

Q. I did not hear very clearly your answers to the questions about Carey McWilliams. Did you have anything to do with inviting him to that meeting?

A. Well, Carey McWilliams' books are in our high school library.

Q. That is not my question, Mrs. Bettington. Did you ever have anything to do with that?

A. Yes. I approved of him coming after I had consulted the school administration.

THE LOS ANGELES CITY BOARD OF EDUCATION

J. Paul Elliott, attorney-at-law and President of the *Los Angeles Board of Education*, appeared as a voluntary witness before the committee and read into the committee's official transcript a prepared statement submitted on behalf of the Board of Education with the approval of the Superintendent of Schools, Vierling Kersey. The statement follows:

"My attention has been called to the testimony developed yesterday before the Joint Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities, and particularly in relation to alleged activities at the Canoga Park High School.

"Any attempt to indoctrinate the students of our public schools in foreign ideologies, communism, or un-American doctrines is in strict defiance of the policy of the Los Angeles City Board of Education. Our administrators have made it clear to our personnel that the function of the public schools is to develop an appreciation of American doctrines and a respect for the superiority of our form of government and our democratic system of free enterprise over

any other conflicting ideology or any other form of government. The Los Angeles City Board of Education will not tolerate a deviation from this policy.

"We are not prepared at the moment to pass judgment on the situation at Canoga Park High School, but as President of the Board of Education I have requested Mr. Vierling Kersey, Superintendent of Schools, to make an immediate investigation, and if the facts charged are found to be substantiated, to take immediate steps to prevent a recurrence of such activities. On calling the superintendent, I found that he had already set machinery in motion for such purpose. I have also requested Senator Jack B. Tenney, Chairman of said Un-American Activities Committee, to furnish us with a transcript of the evidence produced before his committee relating to any activities of propaganda or un-American indoctrination in our schools, and have assured him that we welcome such information as will enable us to take the necessary steps to protect the public against any such further activities. I am also making it clear that we welcome evidence of any such activities in our schools, no matter where they may occur.

"On September 30, 1946, J. Edgar Hoover, as head of the FBI, in addressing the American Legion Convention at San Francisco, warned of the danger of encroachment of communistic propaganda into American life, and in a statement made some months ago, he called attention to information that had come to him indicating that there was a definite program to infiltrate communistic doctrines into the public schools of America.

"It is high time that we eliminate any possibility of those who would extol foreign ideologies as superior to our traditional American doctrines, and who would try to teach our children that our American way of life is inferior to that of some other country. The Los Angeles City Board of Education and our school authorities are conscious of their responsibility to see that the youth of this community are not misled by the deceptive and false thinking and propaganda of those who advocate foreign ideologies as superior to those of the traditional principles of democratic freedom in which all true citizens of this country take pride."

Mr. Elliott later made the following statement:

The situation in general as it has been developed in this school district has not come to a focal point yet, and the information that has come to us from your committee in connection with the Canoga Park situation, in which, as I have stated, we are not passing judgment one way or the other until we have all the information before us. It has been the policy of the Board of Education in the instances that have been called to our attention during the past few months, and they have been few where teachers have been attempting apparently to indoctrinate students in the classroom in ideologies that are contrary to our concept of American life, to the public schools and as we all adhere to as loyal American citizens. In those few instances those teachers have been called before the Board of Education, the evidence submitted and disciplinary action taken. We have made it very clear in those instances that we would not

tolerate that type of deviation from the school board policy. However, it is difficult many times to discover some of these activities for the reason that though we require a principal of the school to keep rather close surveillance of the classroom, it stands to reason that any one knowing that they are violating the policy of the board will not persist in those practices when there is some superior officer present in the room. The way we ordinarily get these bits of information is, as you perhaps know, through reports of parents whose children in the classroom have experienced that situation. Therefore, it is tremendously helpful to all school boards of this State to have evidence such as you are able to secure here made available to us and to have parents of children in the schools report to our superintendent when those situations exist, because I am sure that there are many instances of this type that do not reach the authorities in the schools, for that very reason, for lack of report and for lack of bringing information to us as it exists.

FINDINGS OF THE LOS ANGELES BOARD OF EDUCATION ON THE CANOGA PARK HIGH SCHOOL TEACHERS

The Los Angeles Board of Education undertook an inquiry into the charges made before the *Joint Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities* concerning the teaching activities of Mrs. Frances R. Eisenberg and Mrs. Blanche Bettington. Because of the importance of this particular case and the ease with which Marxist indoctrinated instructors may utilize Marxian methods to avoid detection, most of the Los Angeles Board of Education's report is included herewith. The introduction of the report is as follows:

The current inquiry at Canoga Park High School was authorized to secure facts concerning statements involving Mrs. Frances Eisenberg and Mrs. Blanche Bettington, made by witnesses on October 9, 1946, before the Joint Legislative Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities, more commonly known as the Tenney Committee. These witnesses were reported to have given testimony which if correct suggested possible violation of the Board's Administrative Guide, the Education Code, and school law. The implied violation was of a character such that the board felt could not be ignored. A committee appointed by the superintendent consisting of two assistant superintendents and two high school principals, was instructed to investigate the conduct described in this testimony and particularly that alleged to have occurred in the classrooms of these teachers, and to report any facts or evidence of violation of the provisions of the Education Code or the Rules and Regulations of the Board of Education.

The School Committee held hearings for a period of four days at Canoga Park High School from October 15th to October 18th, inclusive, followed by subsequent investigation of the matters testified to. This committee made every effort, including an open invitation through the local press, to obtain testimony from all interested parties, particularly those individuals who testified before the Tenney Committee. Of the witnesses presenting evidence considered material to the current issues a majority gave testimony favorable

to the teachers; and a substantial number gave testimony unfavorable to them. Much of the testimony on both sides consisted of expressions of opinion rather than a recital of specific things said or done, and it is obvious that such testimony is not of great assistance in determining the merits of the complaints made. Witnesses, including students and former students, favoring the teachers, testified that they were allowed every opportunity to express their opinions in class; that they were taught to differentiate opinions from facts; that they were encouraged to dig out facts as a basis for formulating and defending an opinion; that the students were encouraged to read all sides of a question before coming to a decision; and that they did not believe any attempt had been made on the part of the teachers to impose their opinions on the students. Some of these favorable witnesses, in answer to questions of the School Committee, gave evidence which supports findings numbers two and three of the board hereinafter made. Witnesses testifying in support of the complaints stated that the discussions in the classes of these teachers were "slanted" to the "left" or to the teachers' own partisan political views; that those who opposed their views were belittled and "talked down"; that the teachers expressed their own personal opinions on controversial matters; that the teachers recommended newspapers and commentators that the children or their parents considered to be to the "left"; and that the teachers compared Russia to this country so that this country suffered by comparison.

The testimony indicated that the classrooms of these teachers were scenes of many spirited discussions that sometimes carried over into the next class period and frequently carried over into discussions around the family dinner table. Three of the witnesses who were or had been members of the faculty expressed the opinion that these discussions were emotionally disturbing to the students and were making them unsettled in their opinions and beliefs. A larger number of the members of the faculty held to the contrary view.

All who testified commended the excellence of the student body government program at Canoga Park and the fine attitude and spirit which the school had engendered in the students. Witnesses on both sides testified that these teachers by virtue of their school assignments took a prominent part in motivating and inspiring this student body activity and school spirit.

The findings of the Los Angeles Board of Education on the activities of Mrs. Frances Eisenberg and Mrs. Blanche Bettington are as follows:

From a careful study and analysis of all pertinent available information regarding the complaints made before the Tenney Committee, the Board of Education finds as follows:

1. The evidence does not support the complaint that these teachers imposed Communistic doctrines upon students in their classes, or that they "slanted" or improperly influenced the policy or articles of the school paper, "The Hunter's Call." Both teachers emphatically denied sympathy with or approval of Communism.

They also denied they lacked sympathy with, and on the contrary asserted approval of, our capitalistic system of free enterprise.

2. Concerning the complaint that the teachers "slanted" class discussions of political and controversial issues to the "left" or to their own view, the evidence is conflicting, though a majority of the students or former students, testified and made statements favorable to the teachers in this regard. However, the inquiry establishes practices engaged in by the teachers, which could reasonably be expected to improperly influence or slant the thinking of some of the pupils toward the opinions of the teachers; and to such extent constitute prejudiced and biased presentation of subject matter. These practices were established by the statements of witnesses, including those appearing for the teachers, and in part by statements made by the teachers, that these teachers: actively and conspicuously have taken partisan positions in the community on highly controversial, political, economic, or social issues; while expressing their personal opinions and convictions in the classroom on controversial issues; and while naming certain radio commentators in the classroom as reliable or unreliable. Although they so expressed their personal opinions these teachers granted the students the right to differ, to express their own opinions, and to read source material of every nature.

3. As to the complaint that copies of the *Daily Worker* and alleged Communistic periodicals were displayed in the classrooms of these teachers, the testimony is conflicting, and the teachers deny the charge. However, there is sufficient evidence to indicate that periodicals of almost every kind were permitted in the classrooms, and were not limited to the literature approved by the Curriculum Division; and that the *Daily Worker* was on a few occasions present in the classrooms. The testimony presented does not establish that said paper was used for the purpose of indoctrination or was presented by the teachers as subject material for study.

4. As to the complaint that Mrs. Eisenberg was a member of the board of the People's Educational Center which the Legislative Committee stated is a Communistic front organization, Mrs. Eisenberg admitted that she was a member of the People's Educational Center, that she was assigned on said board by the president of her teachers' union, Local No. 430, American Federation of Teachers, and that said union is designated in the official literature of said People's Educational Center as an affiliated organization. Mrs. Eisenberg, however, stated that she did not know whether or not the People's Educational Center was a Communistic front, that she was not aware of the Communistic affiliations of any member of said board, and that she was not active and attended only a few meetings.

The foregoing findings and statements produced at the hearing or volunteered by the teachers are not recited to imply that the teacher's rights as a citizen are limited in the community so long as they do not conflict with his obligations as a teacher. The recital is made to indicate that the actions of these teachers in taking prominent positions on controversial issues in the community and by

expressing opinions on controversial issues in the classroom, gave reasonable rise to the question as to their qualifications to handle controversial issues in the classroom.

The Senior Problems courses taught by those of these teachers in the senior year are courses required in this school as a prerequisite to graduation. The evidence is to the effect that practically all kinds of political and controversial issues were permitted and encouraged to be spiritedly discussed in class; that during political campaigns students were encouraged to debate and discuss political candidates and political issues, and that bills pending before Congress or the Legislature were freely discussed in class, with the teachers joining in expressing their personal opinions thereon.

FINDINGS OF THE COMMITTEE

The Committee must take sharp issue with the findings of the *Los Angeles Board of Education*. The handling of the Canoga Park affair indicates a serious lack of intelligence and realism in its attempt to cope with the skilled propagandists for Communist totalitarianism.

It should be obvious that the task of investigation was one for professional investigators trained in piercing smoke-screens. The employment of members of the teaching profession in such an investigation is a waste of energy. The palpable "white-wash" of the affair might easily have been anticipated.

This Committee is of the opinion that the *Los Angeles Board of Education* failed miserably in its responsibility to the youth of Los Angeles.

Acting within the letter of the law of the State of California on the subject and holding ever in mind the great difficulty in ferreting out the overt act that falls within a given statute, plus the very nature of subversive indoctrination, it is understandable that the board, in its deliberations, was thoroughly at the mercy of both Mrs. Eisenberg and Mrs. Bettington, their vociferous supporters and friends.

The committee has thorough confidence in the courage and patriotism of both Mr. J. Paul Elliott and Mr. Vierling Kersey. There are probably few people in the State of California who thoroughly understand the difficulty with which the board was confronted in its investigation of Communist indoctrination of students at *Canoga Park High School*. Only those who have made a long and intensive study of Communism, its tactics and techniques, as the members of this committee have been compelled to do, can thoroughly understand and appreciate the subterfuges and evasions of those who have been trained in the Communist fine art of deception.

The report of the *Los Angeles Board of Education* on the Canoga Park inquiry actually corroborates the testimony given under oath before the committee. It is quite obvious that the members of the *Los Angeles Board of Education* became confused in the purpose of the inquiry and were led far afield by the clever injection of "expression of opinions" and the diverting question as to whether or not students had been permitted to arrive at "independent decisions."

It will be seen from the testimony of Charles H. Nettles, principal of the school, that he was in no mental condition to accept the sworn

testimony of students and parents under any circumstances. His attitude before the committee was uncooperative and belligerent. He was prepared to believe that everyone testifying against Mrs. Eisenberg and Mrs. Bettington was disloyal to the *Canoga Park High School*. To him the whole affair was one of loyalty to the school and not to the United States. The entire hearing was a challenge to Mr. Nettles and it was thoroughly apparent to the members of the committee that he was either consciously or unconsciously willing to go to any lengths to prove that the students appearing before the committee had perjured themselves.

The case of Mrs. Eisenberg is crystal clear. She is a member of Local 430 of the *American Federation of Teachers*, a thoroughly Communist dominated trade union. She is a member of the Board of Directors of the *People's Educational Center*, a Communist front educational institution. Sitting with her on this alleged board of directors is an outstanding Communist functionary, Dorothy Healy, Secretary of the *Communist Party of Los Angeles County*. She is acquainted with and associates with known Communists, such as John Howard Lawson. The Communist books of Carey McWilliams are in the library of the *Canoga Park High School*. Copies of the *Daily Worker*, the official organ of the *Communist Party of the United States*, have been seen tacked on the walls of her classroom in the school. She has followed the *Communist Party line* in ranting at such publications as the *Reader's Digest*. She has approved the imperialist aggression of Soviet Russia in its unprovoked attack on helpless nations, such as Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.

This committee finds that Mrs. Eisenberg and Mrs. Bettington slanted their teachings and discussions at the *Canoga Park High School* for the purpose of indoctrinating its students with Communistic philosophy, disrespect for the capitalist system of the government of the United States and for the further purpose of building respect and reverence for the cruel dictatorship of the Soviet Union.

The *Hollywood Citizen News* in its issue for Thursday, January 2, 1947, summarized the action of the Los Angeles Board of Education in the following editorial:

Advocates of the Left

The Los Angeles Board of Education reports that it will take no disciplinary action against two Canoga Park High School teachers who, because of testimony given to the Tenney Committee on Un-American Activities here, were investigated by the board.

Although some of the testimony sought to link the teachers with communistic activities or beliefs, the board reports that its evidence "does not support the complaint that these teachers imposed communistic doctrines upon students in their classes * * *."

The board finds that the teachers argued in support of the leftist viewpoint, recommended leftist radio commentators and newspapers but also urged the students "to do their own thinking and look for outside source material."

The teachers, by making this additional gesture of impartiality cleared themselves of the charge that they "imposed communistic doctrines upon students." But the board's report points out that

this gesture "does not necessarily offset the persuasiveness and influence of the teachers."

The proof of the "persuasiveness and influence of the teachers," is that scores of pupils and former pupils testified in support of the two teachers, Mrs. Frances Eisenberg and Mrs. Blanche Bettington. Whether or not the teachers sought to "impose" their opinions upon their pupils, the opinions of the pupils and former pupils who testified in their defense seem to be similar to those of the teachers.

Although admitting that she was a member of the Board of Directors of the Hollywood *People's Educational Center*, Mrs. Eisenberg said she did not know whether the center was a communistic front or whether any of her fellow board members had communistic affiliations.

Since most other people have satisfied themselves on these points, it is amazing that Mrs. Eisenberg, a high school teacher with close association with the Educational Center, was unable to come to any conclusions.

However, that is not the gist of the controversy. The point is whether or not the two teachers have directed study and discussion of controversial issues in the classroom in a neutral, fair and unbiased manner.

While the board finds no basis for penalizing the teachers, it does take the opportunity to call the attention of all teachers to the law governing their profession. "The law," said the report, which includes a summary of court rulings of interest to Los Angeles teachers, "makes it clear that the public school is not a partisan political forum, nor the classroom the place for advocating or advancing a partisan viewpoint on controversial issues; and it is also clear that the teacher may not bias or slant the instruction of the class by expressions of personal opinions and convictions on controversial matters, contrary to his obligation of teaching as set forth by his oath, the laws and prescribed courses of instruction."

The report will serve a useful purpose in the school if it is heeded. But parents are apt to wonder if it is forceful enough to prevent a recurrence of the turmoil which upset one community.

The committee is in possession of considerable material concerning the Communist complexion of Local 430 of the *Los Angeles Federation of Teachers*, an *American Federation of Labor* affiliate. The activities of this organization leave little doubt as to its *Communist Party* control. The committee is aware that certain members of this local union of teachers have attended *Communist Party* conventions and that one member of the organization was elected to the County Committee of the *Communist Party*.

COMMUNIST "COUNTER-ATTACK"

California's Communists, particularly since the 1946 elections, have become somewhat hysterical in their frantic attempts to destroy those who investigate them and their activities. The *Joint Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities in California* has probably done more

harm to the cause of Communism than all other agencies put together. The Communists, themselves, freely admit this.

The latest Communist front for the purpose of smearing investigating bodies was launched early in December of 1946, under the auspices of the Communist transmission-belt *Hollywood Writers' Mobilization*. In defense of the alleged Communist right to work for the destruction of American institutions and the government itself, the *Hollywood Writers' Mobilization* announced a series of forums to be held at the El Patio Theater in Hollywood beginning December 2, 1946, at 8.15 p.m. The over-all title for the forums is "Counter-Attack Against the Plot to Control America's Thinking" and the series are subtly designed to convey the idea that William Randolph Hearst and Senator Jack B. Tenney have gotten together for the purpose of suppressing the Bill of Rights.

The *Hollywood Writers' Mobilization* pamphlet announcing the series of forums under the slogan "The time has come for a counter-attack," makes the following announcement:

At the beginning of 1946 the Hollywood Writers' Mobilization published a program for action which called attention to the Hearst-Tenney-Rankin threat to free expression and free thought. The statement went on to say:

"It is a challenge to every American when the Rankin-Wood Committee proposes a radio censorship law gagging news analysts, or questions the right of the theater to present a play dealing honestly with race relations.

"It is a threat to our heritage of Democracy when the freedom of the press is distorted into the freedom to suppress vital news, or when responsible educators are irresponsibly attacked."

Since that time the attacks have grown in intensity. The glint of censorship in Hearst's eyes has kindled a threat of nation-wide book-burnings. The Tenney fear-smear campaign has struck at the roots of our school system. The Wood-Rankin Committee is poised for an all-out attack against the radio and motion picture industries in Hollywood.

Our right to speak and think as free Americans is at stake.

The Hollywood Writers Mobilization has organized this series of forums to expose the plot against our democratic heritage.

The announced subjects for the proposed forums are:

"The Conspirators"

The plot against free expression in America.

"You Can't Teach That"

The threat against school teachers is a threat against your children.

"The Attack on Hollywood"

What's behind the Rankin-Wood-Tenney smear campaign?

"Who Owns the Air?"

The story behind the "Blue Book" report of the Federal Communications Commission.

"The Book-burners"

The Hearst-inspired campaign to control the freedom of literary expression.

"You Can't Hear That"

Thought-control—via the air-waves.

"America's Iron Curtain"

The restrictions upon the freedom of international communication.

"You Can't Print That"

The suppression of the news.

"The Writer Under Attack"

The drive to control the written word.

Anyone only slightly familiar with Communist pamphleteering methods and terminology recognizes the true character of this announcement by the *Hollywood Writers' Mobilization*. The list of announced speakers for the forums, however, leave no doubt whatsoever in the mind of anyone familiar with Communist Party leaders in California. The speakers are as follows:

Millen Brand
Peter De Lima
Frances R. Eisenberg
Franklin Fearing
Lion Feuchtwanger
Harry Hoijer
John Howard Lawson
Kenneth Macgowan
Arch Oboler

W. E. Oliver
Harold Orr
William N. Robson
John B. Hughes
Howard Koch
Emmet Lavery
Dore Schary
Paul Stewart
Dalton Trumbo

It should be noted that Mrs. Frances R. Eisenberg is listed conspicuously with some of Hollywood's veteran Communists.

CALIFORNIA COMMUNISTS ON THE DEFENSIVE

Indicative of the hysteria presently being manifested by leading Communists in California is an item from the *Hollywood Citizen News* for January 13, 1947. The newspaper report is as follows:

Hollywood Writers Mobilization, which has been labeled by a state legislative committee as "a clearing house for communist propaganda," today was on record for the creation of its own investigating committee to "investigate the investigators" when the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities comes here to continue its probe of communistic influence in the film industry.

This plan was approved last night at a meeting of the organization at El Patio Theater announced for the discussion of the sub-

ject, "The Attack on Hollywood." The plan was proposed by John Howard Lawson, film writer, who has been investigated by and mentioned in reports of the state legislative committee as one of the leaders in communistic activities in Hollywood.

Lawson asked that all witnesses called before the congressional committee also be summoned before a Writers Mobilization Committee for further questioning in order to bring out rebuttal testimony.

Advice From Kenny

The plan was approved after a talk by former Attorney General Robert W. Kenny who questioned the legal right of investigating committees to force witnesses to testify without the aid of counsel.

"You should," said Kenny, "insist upon the right to investigate the investigators."

Kenny said the committees on un-American activities are empowered only to gather information and suggest new legislation. He said that witnesses should be permitted to have counsel for cross-examination of testimony and that the committees should be permitted to hear only legal evidence.

He proposed that a test be made of the right of newspapers to print testimony received by these committees. "Newspapers," he said, "have discovered that this is one way they can smear with impunity."

Lawson is listed as an instructor at the Hollywood People's Educational Center which is referred to by the Joint Fact-Finding Committee of the State Legislature as a "Communist Party propaganda school." He declared that the "aim of the people behind the attack on Hollywood is to gain control of the free media of expression like the radio and motion pictures and thus control American thinking."

Lauds Foreign Films

During the question period, Lawson contrasted American and foreign motion pictures to indicate that the foreign films were superior. He denounced a contract regulating the number of American pictures that were to be exhibited in France. "The American film industry," he said, "must not be permitted to reach out and dominate the film industries of other countries."

Irving Pichel, film writer and director, who is also listed as a lecturer at the People's Educational Center, argued that more American pictures should "inform and instruct." He said that such problems as "racism, restrictive covenants and attacks on labor" would make suitable themes for motion picture stories.

Pichel opined that the "attack on Hollywood" by the Rankin-Wood-Tenney committees was to "keep the films from doing anything effective." He suggested the production of independent films to be shown through independent outlets but conceded that the cost of production and other factors were great obstacles.

Objector in House

Another way to influence the industry, Pichel suggested, was to "stay away from the theaters in millions and let the producers know why."

When Pichel opened the meeting to questions, an unidentified woman protested. "All of you speakers," she shouted, "have attacked the Fascists and Nazis and Bundists but have said not one word against the Communists." Her protest was lost in a chorus of jeers and boos.

COMMUNISM ON THE WATERFRONT

During the Oakland hearing in 1946 two colorful figures presented themselves and requested permission to testify before the committee. One was Martin Kaplan and the other was Al Harris, maritime stewards. Both men were formerly affiliated with the *National Maritime Union* and the *Marine Cooks and Stewards Union* of the CIO. They had read about the committee's hearings in San Francisco newspapers and had decided to ask permission to testify.

David Jenkins, Director of the *California Labor School*, was a member of the *National Maritime Union* and is presently affiliated with the *Marine Cooks and Stewards Union* of the CIO. Martin Kaplan knew him in New York as well as in San Francisco. Jenkins had finally admitted under examination by the committee, after he had been shown a photostatic copy of his *Communist Party* registration in New York, that he had, in fact, been a member of the party.

Kaplan testified that the *Marine Cooks and Stewards Union* was thoroughly infested with Communists and completely dominated and controlled by the party. Like most Communist dominated organizations, the meetings of the *Marine Cooks and Stewards* were devoted to *Communist Party* resolutions, and very little attention was ever paid to the business of the union itself, which, under ordinary circumstances, is concerned with adequate wages, hours and working conditions. Kaplan pointed out that the Communist Steering Committee within the organization continually directed the members' attention to political matters, such as getting American troops out of China, glorifying Soviet Russia and Dictator Stalin, criticizing the "imperialist" policy of Great Britain and the United States, and generally following the current Communist Party line. Kaplan declared that whenever a member of the union protested against the injection of Communist Party propaganda into the meetings he was immediately branded as a "stool pigeon," "labor-baiter" and a "Trotskyite."

COMMUNISM AT SEA

Kaplan told the committee that David Jenkins was the leader of the political discussions in the *Marine Cooks and Stewards Union* and that he always spearheaded the attacks against any member who criticized the pro-Communist activities continually carried on by the comrades. Both Kaplan and Harris had been expelled from the union because of their anti-Communist attitude and particularly because of their participation in the publication of a circular criticizing the Communist control of the organization. Both men have since carried on a vigorous campaign in an attempt to expose the Communist control of the *Marine Cooks and Stewards Union* and, at great cost and personal sacrifice to themselves, have attempted to rescue the labor organization from the vicious control of the Stalinites who run it.

The expulsion of Kaplan and Harris from the *Marine Cooks and Stewards Union* has not only deprived these men of membership in the organization but has, in addition, deprived them of their right and opportunity to make a living. Both of them have been subjected to inhuman persecution by the Stalinites on the waterfront.

Their Americanism and indignation exploded in the superior courtroom in Oakland as they gave their testimony to the committee. Kaplan testified in part, as follows:

Q. (By Vice Chairman Dickey): Will you be seated.

A. Mr. Chairman, to begin with, it has been mentioned in the record * * *

Q. (By Mr. Combs): Wait just a minute.

Vice Chairman Dickey: Wait just a minute, Mr. Kaplan. Would you be seated, please? What is your occupation, Mr. Kaplan? The witness: Chief Steward, seaman; *American* seaman.

Q. Mr. Kaplan, did you formerly reside in New York?

A. I did.

Q. You saw Mr. Jenkins on the stand here yesterday?

A. I did.

Q. Did you know Mr. Jenkins in New York?

A. I did.

Q. At the time that you knew Mr. Jenkins in New York, were you a member of the NMU? (*National Maritime Union.*)

A. I was.

Q. And was Mr. Jenkins a member of the NMU?

A. He was.

Q. Did you at any time have any conversation or was any statement ever made by Mr. Jenkins to you with reference to Communism?

A. He did. He says, "What do you want to hang around with these phonies for? Why don't you join the *Communist Party* and make something of yourself?"

Q. Did you join the Communist Party?

A. I did not.

Q. Subsequent to that time you moved to the Pacific Coast, and did you meet Mr. Jenkins on the Pacific Coast?

A. I did.

Q. And calling your attention to on or about September 27, 1945, did you have occasion to be present at the *Marine Cooks and Stewards Union* meeting?

A. It was a very famous meeting. It was my date of expulsion.

Q. At that time was Mr. Jenkins present at that meeting?

A. He was.

Q. And was any statement made by Mr. Jenkins in reference to the Communist Party?

A. Not only that meeting but other meetings.

Q. Did he state he was a member of the Communist Party?

A. He didn't exactly state he was a member of the Communist Party, but he spoke and, in other words, he was the hatchet-man for the Communist Party at that meeting and others.

Q. And he solicited, at the meeting, members?

A. Yes, he told the members that was a good place for them, (the Communist Party); that's where every worker should belong.

Chairman Tenney: What is a hatchet-man?

The witness: I beg your pardon, sir?

Chairman Tenney: What is a hatchet-man?

The witness: A man who goes out and does the dirty work; chops people's heads off; character assassin.

Vice Chairman Dickey: You don't mean * * *

A. He deprived me of my means of livelihood; ridiculed me among my friends. If that wasn't a hatchet-man, I don't know what he is. But I'll fight while I've got breath in me.

Q. Did Mr. Jenkins at other meetings identify himself with the Communist Party?

A. Yes, definitely.

Q. And did he at those other meetings and among the membership of the *Marine Cooks and Stewards Union* solicit other members of the union?

A. Always supported the *Communist Party*. Always tells them it's a good place for them.

Q. Did the *Marine Cooks and Stewards Union* pay for and publish a pamphlet which was taken to the South Pacific and circulated among the members of the armed forces?

A. * * * they have a research department that's under the guise of working for the union; about 18 girls and up there—various other places—they have mimeographed sheets and all sorts of propaganda that they give to the comrades to take aboard a ship and take it to the far-flung places of the Army, Navy, and what-not; and I do know of times that they distributed literature and even at the time I was on a ship they've done that. Diversified activities all the way down the line. I do know of those activities definitely.

Q. In fact the Army picked up a number of those publications and stopped them from being circulated, did they not?

A. Not only did they do that; they take these people, hold them for investigation and don't allow them on the Army ships and a number of their comrades couldn't work on the ships for that reason.

* * * * *

Q. (By Mr. Combs): Now, Mr. Kaplan, was the dissemination of those circulars a part of the Communist program aboard ship?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. How do you know that to be a fact?

A. Well, I've read a lot of it and I know it's a Commie line, and it's against the principles of our Government—especially when we're at a time of war; we have a big job on our hands; it's sort of

out of place. And if you would like to, I have also even a record of a letter from a convoy commander written to the company, which will substantiate the diversified activities that takes place on a ship. You can't get them to do no work. They're not even qualified. All they're interested in is propaganda.

* * * * *

Q. Communist activities?

A. That's right. What they would do, when the troops would come on a ship trying to get eats; they'll charge him a dollar or two dollars, and they'll give him pamphlets. But they'll charge the boys. Couldn't get them to load the ammunition at Guadalcanal. But to charge them money is against my way of thinking. That's what we have to contend with.

Q. Did you personally make any effort to stop the passing around of this Communist literature?

A. I asked them not to, yes.

Q. With what result?

A. They laughed at me, and the fact they did bring me up on charges in the union.

Q. What kind of charges; anti-unionism?

A. Anti-everything. Not only that but at Gavutu—it's in the Solomons, not far from Tulagi and Guadalcanal—one night—I think it was around Washington's birthday, 1943—the Japs came over and bombarded the place and hit us unawares, and everybody got nervous, and they even asked for volunteers to go ashore and help put out the fire that hit the ammunition dump, and they pleaded for volunteers. Do you think they would even join? No, they wouldn't even get off. I was one of the volunteers. It's in the records. But our great Communists, they wouldn't even get off the ship, and we had boys dying. We put the fire out, lifted their bodies, some without heads—it's all in the record. *Wonderful seamen.*

Q. Mr. Kaplan, how long have you been engaged in combatting (Communist) activities in your union?

A. In my union?

Q. Yes.

A. Well, I wouldn't say (I am) a definite professional anti-Communist fighter, but I will say this, that as an American citizen, (with) love of my Country and the principles it stands for, and the standard of living it gives me, (that) that's what I fight for. Being all over the world, I see what is going on all over the world. I love my standard of living; I love where I'm coming from, and I don't want nobody putting anything over on me. A lot of this dirt and rottenness coming up has nothing to do with unionism when we have to fight such conditions, hours, wages and what-not. All we hear (from the Communists in the union) is, "Take Byrnes off," "Roosevelt is a war-monger," all the way down the line, (when) the union should be emancipating the workers' conditions, and that's what I want (it) to do for me. Outside, (of union meetings) if I want to argue and holler, that's anybody's privilege, but in the

union I come there to listen; to find out about business pertaining to my union conditions; my hours, whether they put an extra shower-bath in for the boys; extra steam tables where they can put more men to do the work; where they can have a recreation room—everything pertaining to the working conditions of the people in my department. That's what I want. I have to make my way. I've been in a trade union's honest fight—fighting on picket lines; and all for better conditions * * *.

Q. That's your explanation for (your) stand against Communism in the trade union movement?

A. That's right.

COMMUNISTS CAPTURE A SEAMEN'S UNION

Kaplan's description of the method used by the *Communist Party* in capturing his union while most of the anti-Communist seamen were at sea, is best told in his own words:

A. * * * Well, going to sea, we haven't got the time to stay ashore. The Communists are organized—very much organized—and they have their various tactics of working. They have their strategy committees in the unions; they have people they teach to be hecklers—character assassins and what-not—and each one (is) appointed to various maneuvers and they stay ashore and go into various other industries, and they pack meetings and what-not, and (in this way) they take over organizations. Now, the seaman as a whole—you all know the wonderful job he's done in this war; he had no time to quibble about no unions; he had to go out and deliver the goods. Prior to the war we used to have what you called "scheduled itineraries." We all know where a certain company's ships go; 47 days, 8 days, 1 day, and what-not; it comes back. Since the war a ship would go away for 2 years, 12 months, 8 months—shuttling to various parts where they (were) needed most. Come back in 6 months and the seaman didn't know what's going on. So they (the Communists) saw a chance of taking over the unions and, what they did, was put their comrades on coastwise ships that was only away for 10 days—probably running to Alaska or down here far away from the battle-fronts delivering the goods, and they (the Communists) had them in the other unions, and what they did was pack them into the meetings. Now, what happened? The boys come back from a trip; they come up to the union to hear what's going on, and listen to it, and are ready to ship out again. Well, there was a man got up at one of the meetings I attended and exposed a Communist conspiracy to take over the union lock, stock and barrel by a proposed new constitution, and it was laying in the safe, he said, at Gladstein's office.

Q. Richard Gladstein?

A. Gladstein, Andersen, Resner, Sawyer and Edises—and that they proposed to put that over. He didn't like the tactics that were going on; he was against it—and he was quitting the *Communist Party*. Now, this man (who got up at one of the meetings) said he was sponsored by Hugh Bryson, president of the union today; and

also by McCormick, the port agent. And he told us all about the workings, the scheme, and how it was supposed to be brought out, and how he was at the caucus and he was at (*Communist Party*) meetings.

(Kaplan was here referring to William P. M. Brandhove. See his testimony in this report.)

Chairman Tenney: Was he a Communist himself?

The Witness: Yes. I had to take his word for it. He exposed them right on the floor. What happened: They immediately brought him up on charges, and immediately branded him a "labor scab" and he was expelled and whatnot; * * * and the fellow was thrown out of the organization; * * * and the vote was *not* to expel him. They turned it around. They wouldn't even give him an appeal; recount—and the fellow was out. They got together——

Mr. Combs: Who got together?

A. Members in the *Marine Cooks and Stewards Union* got together. It was high time for some seamen to stay ashore and fight this red menace. And they came to the conclusion that they'd have to put out a paper on the various propaganda along the lines of the campaign to expose the tactics of the Communists; and not to put over this so-called proposed constitution. Well, that's the birth of the paper that Jenkins says was antiunion; and the caption says, "Voice of the Rank and File;" and it says, "For Sincere American Trade Unionism and West Coast unity."

Mr. Combs: Let me identify that for the record so we'll have some reference to it. This was published by your group?

A. That's right.

Q. And when did the publication commence—August 27, 1945?

A. That's right.

Q. The date the paper bears?

A. That's right.

Q. Who edited it?

A. This fellow that was expelled from the Communist Party and was thrown out of the union too.

Q. What's his name?

A. William Brandhove. It's there some place.

* * * * *

The Witness: There might be a lot of people figure it's a rag. We're not no publishers. We got to go to people and ask people to make contributions to the paper—to write some articles and to give our side of the story—and that's what we did. And there's various articles in here pertaining to the methods that the Communists use; being a member of the Communist Party, Mr. Brandhove knew the ranks and the policies—the various commissars in the party, and he states it here.

* * * * *

And on that it says, "Vote No! Constitution was conceived by Communists—is now Proposed by Communists * * *. They refer

to it as 'Great Instrument of Democracy.' I refer to it as a document that will impose 'Red Fascism' on the Rank and File membership * * * Vote No!

"Calling convention in wartime was a plot by Richard Gladstein our—or should I say, our Communist official's lawyer * * * Hugh Bryson, County Committee, Communist Party * * * Nathan Jacobsen, County Committee, Communist Party, New York * * * Louis Pinson, Chairman and Organizer, Waterfront Section, Communist Party * * * Dennis Hooper, Waterfront Section Organizer, Communist Party * * * Joe Harris, Chairman and Organizer, Waterfront Section, Communist Party, Seattle, Washington * * * Irv Dvorin, Agent, Communist Party, Baltimore, Maryland * * * Frank McCormick, San Francisco County Committee, Communist Party and Waterfront Organizer * * * Eugene Burke, just a tool of the Communist Party brain trust * * * he turned out to be a good rubber-stamp for the boys of the Kremlin!"

Now these boys have enough evidence to substantiate their claims and then he goes on in the paper and shows "Meet the comrades" * * * "Here, brothers, is a list of the hammer-n-sickle clowns that made a farce out of your convention.

"Remember these names well! They serve not you, nor the cause of jobs and high pay. They serve only those who call for revolution no true American wants. Those with appointee after their names were appointed by Communist-controlled shore meetings * * * not membership referendum * * *

"Guess why.

"Louis Pinson, Educational Director, Delegate (not elected) convention seated appointee. He wasn't even elected by the members; he sat himself down; he was in and so were a lot of others.

"Nathan Jacobsen, New York Port Agent, Delegate.

"Hugh Bryson, Assistant Secretary, Delegate.

"Frank McCormick, San Francisco Port Agent, Delegate, Appointee.

"Joseph O'Connor, San Pedro, Port Agent, Delegate.

"Dennis Hooper, San Pedro Patrolman, Delegate Appointee.

"Joe Harris, Seattle, Port Agent, Delegate.

"Scotty Sneddon, Portland, Port Agent, Delegate.

"Irv Dvorin, Baltimore Port Agent, Delegate, Appointee.

"Syd Kaufman, New York Patrolman, Delegate."

Incidentally, that's the Syd Kaufman who was supposed to be the hero of the *Lincoln Battalion* at the time of the Spanish conflict.

"Don Griner, New York Patrolman, Delegate, Appointee.

"Eddie Lane, Acting Patrolman, Delegate, Appointee.

"Ralph Vosbrink, Honolulu Patrolman, Delegate, Appointee.

"Henry Fisher, San Francisco Patrolman, San Francisco Delegate, Appointee.

"Duke Sexton, San Francisco Delegate."

His wife is Elaine Sexton, who is a member of the Communist Party and who was appointee of the auxiliary, paid out of the union funds. She's on the pay roll and she spends all kinds of money forming the women's auxiliary. What's that got to do with Communism?

"Harry Nehrbecki, Dispatcher, Appointee.

"Eddie Tangen, San Francisco, Delegate.

"Chester Baker, S. S. Lurline, Delegate.

"Aldon Clark, S. S. Kansas, Delegate.

"Sol Kaufman, S. S. Columbia, Delegate.

"James Kierman, S. S. Sea Partridge, Delegate."

He was one of the fellows taken off of the "Canal" for subversive activities and smuggled in at the last minute, and his right name is Owen Stevens.

"Joseph Johnson, S. S. Monterey, Delegate.

"C. E. Johanson, S. S. Henry W. Longfellow, Delegate, Appointee.

"Peter Mendelsohn, S. S. Abiel Foster, Delegate."

He was also taken off various ships for subversive activities.

"Harold Holland (Pink).

"Morris Pinsky, S. S. J. N. Cushing, Delegate.

"Carl Spencer, S. S. John Owens, Delegate."

Incidentally, this fellow was a leader in the furniture workers, and they got wise to him as a Communist and pitched him out and he come in the *Marine Cooks and Stewards*.

"Wallace Ho, S. S. Matsonia, Delegate.

"George Gutkunst, S. S. Lurline, Delegate.

"Jack Akins, S. S. Monterey, Delegate.

"Earl Campbell, S. S. Matsonia, Delegate.

"Barney Franks, S. S. Yukon, Delegate.

"Al Jewett, New York Patrolman, Appointee.

"Benny Magedoff, San Francisco Patrolman, (Pink) Appointee.

"Jerry Tyler, S. S. Columbia.

"Arvid Johnson, S. S. Baranoff, Delegate.

"Stanley Tesch, S. S. Matsonia, Delegate.

"Clarence Ison, S. S. Norman Coleman, Delegate.

"Gladys Tangen, Women's Auxiliary, Delegate."

Nobody ever elected her. She's on the thing too.

"Margaret Tyler, Women's Auxiliary, Delegate.

"Elaine Sexton, Women's Auxiliary, Delegate.

"Geraldine Wily, Women's Auxiliary, Delegate.

"Note: Did you send these people to the convention to represent you? Be advised they did not! They represented the Communist Party!"

Q. Excuse me, Mr. Kaplan, let's get this thing straightened out for the record. How often is this publication issued?

A. Well, it was off and they chopped our heads off, and they started fighting us, and we never issued another copy.

Q. One and only one.

Chairman Tenney: They call that union disruptionism, is that it?

The Witness: That's right, antiunion. Now, there was over 1,200 ships sailed the sea. There was approximately 90 delegates. Fifty of them there were appointees, which were the officials, and the rest of them were from the ships. And who were they? Now,

in time of war they went on record time and again with a "Do we need a convention? We're getting along all right. We got a constitution. We don't need no convention." But they foresaw a chance to take everything over. Well, everybody was busy in a way, and they proposed to put the thing over. They steam-rolled the thing illegally; put it over, and anybody who had anything to say against it was expelled.

Now, I, as a member of the trade union, feel that I am a true American trade unionist. I've got the right to get up and make my complaints and, mind you, I'm sorry I didn't contribute an article to that. I didn't write no article; I didn't write the paper, but I admitted on the floor that I contributed the first \$20 bill toward the publication of the paper, and they brought me on charges that I help finance this phony, disreputable paper, and that's what they should do with me, expel me. Well, in the case of my expulsion, they didn't give me no fair trial. It finally came before the membership. All the comrades were there, including Commissar Jenkins. So he gets up and makes a big hullabaloo in his speech there on the floor, and I had to fight to get to the floor to try to defend myself. I succeeded in getting the floor and I told them on the floor it was a Communist conspiracy. "If you have evidence against me of being a bad trade unionist; if I violated anything in a strike or a condition, you're justified in throwing me out. Because I contributed to a paper campaigning against the proposed constitution, it's my right as a citizen."

COMMUNISM AT UNION MEETINGS

Kaplan offered a number of pamphlets and booklets issued by the Communist Party of San Francisco County distributed at union meetings at the headquarters of the *Marine Cooks and Stewards Union* in San Francisco which were entered in the committee's transcript as exhibits. This material included propaganda urging the election of a man by the name of Nugent to the San Francisco County Board of Supervisors sponsored by the Communist Party. One pamphlet announced Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., New York City Councilman and a member of the *National Committee of the Communist Party* as a speaker on the subject "Hands Off China" at the Lenin Memorial Meeting in the CIO Auditorium at 150 Golden Gate Avenue in San Francisco for Friday, January 25, 1946. Kaplan's testimony continues:

Q. (By Mr. Combs): Now, just a minute, let's take these up one at a time. Let's take this up first. This was disseminated in the same place in the same manner you've already testified to?

A. That's right.

Q. All right. Now, this bears the statement on the back, "Issued by the Communist Party of San Francisco, 942 Market Street, EXbrook 2996." * * * And it states on the back of the pamphlet that he was director of the San Francisco Communist Party * * * Let's take the next one * * * It was circulated in the same manner in the same place?

A. Correct.

Q. And asks for the election of Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., to the office of City Councilman, New York City, and states that Mr. Davis is a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party?

A. Correct.

Q. Now this advertises a meeting in CIO Auditorium, 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, under the auspices of the Communist Party of San Francisco, Friday, January 25, at 8 p.m.

* * * * *

The Witness: Now, there's hundreds more booklets and pamphlets. They make sure to get them in. Right at the meetings they bring them around the hall; they distribute that stuff; the *People's World* and all those publications. Now, I haven't the right to contribute to a paper as an American; to say that I can't contribute to a campaign. They told me that, and expelled me for it. Now, at that meeting there, Jenkins got up and villified me; called me everything under the sun; I'm a red-baiter; I'm a Fascist, and I'm a collaborator with Hitler—and *what* he didn't call me there! And when I mentioned about the conspiracy of the Communists there—trying to take away my liberties—he came out with the statement that they don't want fellows like me in that union—and it's a good thing. Then he mentioned also for the fellows that don't know me; I mean being the director of the California Labor School. He puts the emphasis on that, and he goes on to tell them of the wonderful schools, and they all should belong to the Communist Party, and they shouldn't be ashamed of it.

Q. You've heard Mr. Jenkins say that himself?

A. Yes.

Q. He told them they should belong to the Communist Party?

A. Specifically at that meeting and other meetings. 86 Commercial Street. And at that meeting I showed the members (my) picket-cards and everything like that—and said, "What have I done?" And (I) explained it and asked them why should they expel me for that stuff * * * and Jim Kern even got up and said he's proud to be a Communist. Other fellows got up. They're all proud to be Communists and these people have to be annihilated; they're nothing but Fascists, and the answer was—I got thrown out * * * They purged everybody and everybody is afraid to get up and oppose them—so it's all under Communist control. So here they come out with another letter, September 20th, at the time I was expelled.

Q. Now, where did you get this letter?

A. Right in the union office.

Q. All right, you got yours?

A. Yes. They sent it to the ships and everywhere.

Q. This is entitled "*Marine Cooks and Stewards Association* National Office, 86 Commercial Street, San Francisco 11, California, September 20, 1945. To be read at membership meetings in all ports—and inserted in the official 'Voice.' "

A. That's right.

Q. "The San Francisco membership meeting of September 13, 1945, after hearing a thorough and detailed report of a rank-and-file committee officially elected to investigate the disruption now being carried on within and without our union, voted that, 'We urge members of the MCS to take action and order every one to disassociate themselves immediately from the so-called *Rank and File Voice*, or the necessary steps should be taken by the membership to insure the Unity of the MCS-CIO, in their common fight for better wages and conditions! Therefore, the following who submitted articles to this sheet, as well as finances, and others, are hereby ordered to write Secretary-Treasurer E. F. Burke, immediately signifying their intention to disassociate themselves for the best interest of the Union. If they do not choose to do this within the coming period—this fact will be reported to the membership, for their appropriate and proper action.'"

Then there is a list of names given here.

"Arthur A. Griffey, William Dillon, Walter Hesse, W. H. Herman, George Walsh, A. J. Van Bebber, 'Wes' Owen, Charles Schreiber, Joseph Almeida, James Brown, Grover Taylor, Henry Krohn, Roy Lawyer. Adopted by membership meeting, San Francisco, September 20, 1945."

Now, did these individuals, or any of them, disassociate themselves for the best interest of the union?

A. Some of them who wanted to stay with the ship disassociated. Those who didn't were thrown out.

Q. They were then thrown out of the union?

A. Yes.

Q. That was true of all of them?

A. Those who associated with us, in fact, were *seen* associating with us on the corner, were thrown out too.

Kaplan introduced into the record a series of resolutions offered and adopted by the *Marine Cooks and Stewards Union* clearly indicating the Communist domination of the organization. These documents were marked as exhibits and are included in the committee's files. One resolution declared that "James F. Byrnes, U. S. Secretary of State, is using his office to champion the designs of American imperialists," and called for his removal. Another declared that the "Rampant, merciless, imperialist machines of England and Holland in a frenzied attempt to destroy the people's liberation movements of Indo China and Java are using Japanese soldiers as hired mercenaries." Another stated that "American lives are today being placed in danger in North China in a situation that has seen American soldiers projected into the middle of a struggle that is liable to develop into a Chinese civil war." Kaplan explained the adoption of these resolutions by the members of the *Marine Cooks and Stewards Union* in the following language:

The witness: When a member gets up on the floor and wants to discuss union business, he's heckled down and shouted down. That's important there (the Communist resolutions) and we don't get union business over there, *never*. Jenkins is one of the main

speakers from the Labor School. The director of the Labor School—he's one of the main speakers. Not once have I heard Mr. Jenkins speak of conditions for the union, the seamen's plight—the bonus or anything like that. Always on these resolutions—he comes up there specially for these resolutions—and then *I'm not a good union man*.

Chairman Tenney: All right, Mr. Kaplan, do you recognize in these resolutions anything that might be considered the Communist Party line?

The witness: Everything is the Communist Party line.

Kaplan concluded his testimony with the following:

The witness: Mr. Jenkins visits various types of organizations, among (them) the Jewish people. I happened to be a guest of one of my friends (at one of these meetings). He (Jenkins) was there taking up the Zionist movement, and arguing about that there—and hitting down the Commie line; and I exposed him right there to a lot of my friends and what-not—and I'm a renegade again. Now, the Jewish people don't want them (the Communists) to fight for them. They've got a stigma on them about every Jew (being) a Communist. It is not so. There are Jews in this country who are 100 percent American. In fact, I think they're better than the 100 percent Americans who came over in the Mayflower, because they know what goes on around the world. They know what it means, and I'm one of them.

Chairman Tenney: As a matter of fact, they are the most effective fighters against Communism in the United States are they not?

The witness: I hope they should be.

* * * * *

The witness: * * * The fact is they should take all these (people) that are fighting for the so-called Communists—(people who) don't like this country and all that—and there are a lot of little ships; (we) ought to take them and load them up and they got plenty of space all the way from Vladivostok to Moscow. Take them there and let them go there and build. I'm satisfied for my kids to have the privileges of this country. I've been an orphan since I was eight years old and I had to fight with my own hands. Where can people have a home, a bank-book, a car, a radio—tell everybody to go to hell if I don't like them—and all that stuff. You don't get that nowhere else except (in) the United States—and I'm proud of that. I'm proud to be an American, and (for) my children to be Americans and their children * * *.

I think the committee should really do something in behalf of the people that were kicked around the way I am; and the other boys in the union who have been thrown out. There's fellows who have been in the union 45 years—they were charter union members. Other fellows have 30 years like Arthur Giffey and all those. I'm still a young man. They take away their livelihood because they contribute to a paper—contribute to a campaign. Something should be done for these people—a law passed so they can't be thrown out of work. I think in a country like America these conditions should

(not) prevail and (I told them in the meeting of (the) expulsion (that) I'd go to Congress; the Senate—I'd go in right where the story was going on by God if it was the end of the world. Maybe a lot of you people don't realize. Maybe a lot of your liberals don't realize. What they should do is put on a pair of overalls and get into these unions and see what is going on—get a different slant on liberalism. Those boys go out like Giffey; like myself—some of them 45 years in the union—and they can't voice their opinions.

They can't (be against Communism). They threw them out. What are these fellows going to do? They studied—chief stewards study their craft for years; they get to the top—and that's their business. What are they going to do peddle newspapers? They get as much as \$500 a month—and now they take away their source of livelihood. Maybe the boys are going to apply for old age pensions and charity. I don't know. Is that a real condition in America? Should that thing happen?

If fellows walk through a picket line or against a fellow when he was striking—tried to lower the standard of living the boys were fighting for—I'm one of the fellows who said they should suffer. But not *these fellows*. *For what?* Because they want to disseminate information which they think is right? Even if it may be wrong—even if this paper might be the worst read—they've got that right. It's America. We're flying Old Glory yet.

When I was in Russia—I've got the habit of snooping around; I've been all over the world eight different times—I went to the various places different times I happened to be there. They (the Russians) lead you around there on a tour and so on and tell you this and that. If I wanted to talk to people they tell me I'm out of line * * *. I was in Moscow, Odessa, and those places. You can't talk to those people. I tried to talk to those people through the Yiddish language, but you can't. They have factories there like a little village. Apartment houses there; they eat there; do everything there. Everything is regimented. Maybe it's all right for the Russians. It may be all right for them. Ask questions? No! And I want to talk to people like people talk here. They shoved me around; wouldn't let me get too close.

* * * Maybe (they were) all secret police. They called them "guides." We weren't roaming around the city. (We) didn't have the freedom of the city. Always somebody with us. They took our money away and only allowed us a certain amount of rubles and then gave us back our money. I remember the first time I went in there; they even taxed us because they figure I'm getting into the interior and I'll carry some extra socks and underwear and they taxed me as a Bolshevik carrying extra stuff. *All right*. If that's their beautiful way of living, let them have it. Don't take *my* liberty away. I'm willing as an individual to lose a condition here because I know you can fight and get it back; but they lose their liberty, they're finished. I classify it as red Communist. The cause is totalitarianism. There's no standard of living in the world compared to ours; no standard of living anywhere you go. The kids are beggars.

It's either (a) rich one or (a) poor one. Why *here* any "shlemiel" has got a car; he's got a radio—everything else. I'm proud of these things.

TESTIMONY OF ALEX HARRIS

Alex Harris, a former member of the Communist Party, followed Martin Kaplan to the witness stand. As stated heretofore, neither Kaplan nor Harris were subpoenaed by the committee. Both were voluntary witnesses seeking assistance from the committee in their single-handed fight against the Communist control of the *Marine Cooks and Stewards Union*. Harris had been a member of the organization. By occupation he was a chief steward, seaman. He fully corroborated everything that Martin Kaplan had stated. Harris' testimony, in part, is as follows:

The witness: Well, it might sound like a joke to the committee, but if you go down to that union hall—and that would go for practically every union hall on the waterfront—you would trip over all kinds of Communist literature getting into the building—people selling the *People's World* and (the) Labor Herald—whatever is being put out at the time * * *.

Conditions got so bad we petitioned Congress * * * I'd like to state for the record I was not subpoenaed. I came here on my own volition—and the committee didn't function any too soon to suit me. It didn't come here fast enough.

It's a sad state of affairs when I sat in (this) courtroom yesterday and the day before to see so many of these nice young kids that (are) fooled with this Communist philosophy. Whether they know better or *why* they don't know better, I'm not going to argue that now. But I think the trouble lies in the professors—these innocent men—when they get on the stand, they forget. They're very evasive; they're afraid to talk and the only time they talk on anything definite is when you talk about Communism or Russia—"how wonderful Communism is"; "how wonderful Russia is"—"I don't know whether I'd fight for this country"—it's an embarrassing question (for these men). If you'd ask *me* whether *I'd* fight for this country against Russia or any other country, I'd say *yes*. You wouldn't have to qualify it. But with these professors, you have to qualify what you mean.

* * * I made one bad mistake in my life when I joined the Communist Party back in 1936 for about a year and at the time it was just before the Maritime strike. Conditions were terrible on the ships—there's no question about it—the wages, the food, 60 or 70 people sleeping (in) one little small room. And the food was terrible and the wages was low and it was ripe for anybody in there to sign. You can't fight these people; you can't fight the ship-owners as an individual; you've got to get in with an organization to compete with them and all that sort of stuff.

It was three or four months before they finally got me in. I did it at one of the open forums as they call them. Didn't see anything too bad. That was in 1936 when they didn't have the foreign propaganda in the picture as they do today. I don't think I would fall for it today or two or three years ago.

What I'm driving at is this: I don't like the set-up; and I think one of the main reasons I quit the party after I gave it a fair trial was that they had a meeting on a Wednesday night preceding the regular meeting of the Union, and at that meeting they bring up anything that's going to come up at the following meeting. Now, I'm on a ship. I've just come in; I don't know anything that's coming in—I've been away three months, four months, six months, nine months. I happen to be in. I go to the meeting. I sit there and take it for granted that the chairman and all the rest of them around there are on the level; that they took care of my interests while I was gone; worried about my condition when I was gone, and that everything that they brought up, I was satisfied that they were looking after me. But had they done that? No. They bring up everything and anything but the ships. Now, we get back to the Communist Party caucuses. If a man is to be brought up on charges for putting out a paper or donating anything to something that's not Communism and they want to prefer charges; why, they'll try him and convict him and sentence him all on that day, on a Wednesday before he even comes up to a union meeting. Now, I happen to be one of those people that was elected (by the Communist Party) as a member of that trial committee.

* * * All they have to do is say he's a Trotskyite. (The anti-Communist who is to be expelled). I don't know what a Trotskyite is to this day, although I've heard of Leon Trotsky, and I've heard of him time and time again. I think in our union there are two or three men who claim to be Trotskyites, but there is supposed to be something bad about that, so we'll let this go at the time. The mere fact that the man was a Trotskyite was sufficient grounds to kick the man out of the union and deprive the man of his means of livelihood. I'm a dumb cluck—but *that's not right*. I went up to see (Frank) Spector, at 121 Haight Street. I took it up with (William) Schneiderman * * * I opposed that on the grounds I went against the best—I don't know what the exact wording was. It (what they said) went something like this; "the man is vicious; he's a Trotskyite, and he has to be exterminated." Who am I to speak to these big high people and dispute their word? I'm nobody. I don't know anything about politics. So I went back and did that. But it didn't take very long for me to catch on. And the funny part is, the man was innocent. (Wasn't even a Trotskyite.) * * *

(In the event of difficulty between the United States and Russia the Communists would) scuttle ships; tie up ships—call all kinds of phony strikes. No argument about that. If the Yanks Are Not Coming program is in effect at that time, *then they're not coming*. If they are coming, *they're coming*. We have to ask their permission * * *.

The only thing is it's a sad state of affairs that something isn't being done. I don't say burn the schools up, or burn up the Communist books, but something should be done to let the people know that the *California Labor School* is definitely a Communist outfit * * *.

We got so disgusted that everybody wasn't doing anything that we had our little group. That paper was put out in three days. We went ahead and we seen we weren't getting no satisfaction. We got two or three lickings in the court where the money we had on hand * * * and we lose (on) technicalities after technicalities * * *.

* * * We went ahead and picketed the Russian Consul. Now, the Communists, we don't believe in that. We believe pickets—picket lines belong down on the water front. But we have seen it (used) indiscriminately. We've seen it (used) for every foolish, nonsensical thing. They (the Communists) made a joke of it—of the picket lines; and the ones who fought on picket lines are the traitors of labor, and these (the Communists) are the heroes. When things were tough, they (the Communists) were never there. * * * (We picketed the Russian Consul) for the simple reason that we think that Mr. Jenkins—Dave Jenkins—Commissar Jenkins, is a little more than he's putting out in this country. I know I can't walk in and out of the Russian Consul. I know people that went to Europe, to Russia—that told the guys on the gang plank they were Russians, and they couldn't get into Russia. You have to be in the upper council to get into the Russian Consul. I've seen him go in three or four times myself * * * and he knows it. So we put this picket line on and we asked the Russian Consul—this was on a Sunday—we asked the Russian Consul if Hugh Bryson, Louis Pinson, Frank McCormick and Dave Jenkins, of the *California Labor School*, were on the pay roll.

Now we don't go around beating the bush. We're not saying nothing here—we're not saying nothing here that we haven't said on street corners; in the union hall, and anywhere else—and as far as these people intimidating us—that's not the point. We resent the fact that they get that low. That's the only reason we objected. We're not worrying about their intimidating us, because we can take care of ourselves.

We asked the Russian Consul, naturally, as the representative of Russia here, to * * * take his propaganda off the waterfront; to keep his propaganda away from 86 Commercial Street—which is the *Marine Cooks and Stewards Union*. We also asked for a fair trial for Mikhailovitch—who at that time was being tried. * * *

We asked the Democratic Party to get rid of their reds, pinks, and bleeding hearts—and we had 40 or 50 placards—and we had a couple of big trucks running around the streets. We had a written statement released to all papers, and when they got through putting it in the press, we got about that much space. * * *

We wanted to stir up a little more awareness; not so much the people who knew who the Communists were, but these people that's fooling around with these people that don't know. * * * If you was to ask some of these fellows—like the professor and few more doctors, which were giving testimony here—how all of a sudden their memories becomes loss of memory—but if you was to ask them anything about Communism; what do you think of Communism—they'd sit and talk to you for three or four hours, (about) the wonderful stuff coming out of Russia and all that. Well, don't

forget those are brilliant minds. I know I can't compete with them * * *. Of course, if I took them on a ship and I showed them some of those conditions on a ship; and I took them out to the South Pacific and showed them some of them bodies that's laying around, they might wake up. Because when Germany marched into Poland from the west, Russia marched into Poland from the east, and we have the same thing today.

I'd like to give you a little picture. On the West Coast you have the *Sailors Union of the Pacific*; you have the *Marine Cooks and Stewards*, you have the *Firemen's Union* and *Radio, Mates and Engineers*. Now, on the East Coast, you have one union that practically takes in the three unlicensed groups, the Sailors, Cooks and Firemen. Well, that was put up by the *Communist Party* as a catch-all, and due to the fact that the *National Maritime Union* is so dominated by the Communists; that is, over a period of years—a long time ago—they figured “how can we take over the firemen, the sailors and the cooks”? Well, they figured every other way, and it didn't work out. First thing was changed affiliation, AFL to CIO. At that particular time I was one of the firm believers that the CIO should come out and go out and organize the unorganized in the basic industries. So, naturally, they rallied quite a few people around them on that basis, but they didn't tell us why they wanted that. They didn't tell us why they couldn't control the A. F. of L., but if they came in and sponsored and endorsed the CIO right from the start, that they'd have control of it. The next phase of the program was for the NMU to gobble up the three unlicensed groups. * * *

Well, the *Communist Party*—one thing—you can't take that away from them. You defeat them today; they'll come back tomorrow, or they will come back tonight. If they can't come in through that door, they'll come in through the window. If they can't get in through the window, they'll come in through the roof. They get in. * * *

* * * We're out for winning a war. The average American is out for winning a war. Along come the Communists, before that they were only 2 per cent Americans; then they became super-patriots and get on our band wagon, and push us out and shout louder than we do to win the war. Who did they want to win the war—the United States? Never—We won the war, but we lost the peace—and by God, *I think Russia won the war.*

AFFIDAVIT OF WILLIAM P. M. BRANDHOVE

December 9, 1946

State of California }
County of San Francisco } ss.

William Patrick Maher Brandhove of 1831 21st Avenue, San Francisco, first being duly sworn, deposes and says:

I am presently employed by the *United States Army Transport Service* as a chief steward. I have been employed in the *United States Merchant Marine* during the past 15 years. During that period of time, to the best of my knowledge, I have performed my duties ably and

efficiently. My record of employment will show that I have never terminated employment at the request of my employers. During the entire period of World War II I sailed on ships in the interest of my country because I sincerely desired to see our basic liberties protected and our system of government perpetuated. I am an officer in the *United States Maritime Service* (Lt. JG). I have received six decorations from my government for war service. I have sailed into every theater of war.

During the year (that) I was employed as chief steward it became increasingly apparent (to me) that there existed a conspiracy—a COMMUNIST CONSPIRACY; a veiled attempt on the part of the Communist Party to achieve control of the American Merchant Marine through the various CIO maritime labor unions. (On) trip after trip I perceived an ever increasing tempo of communist-authored propaganda—“*Ash-Can the M-Plan*,” “*Roosevelt’s a War-Monger*,” “*The Yanks Are Not Coming*,” “*No Lend-Lease to the Imperialists*,” “*Don’t Arm Merchant Ships*.”

Then overnight the Communist Party line switched. Russia was viciously attacked by her partner in aggression. The war became a “*Peoples War*.” Ship messrooms suddenly became meeting places of “*Democracy*.” The seamen would awaken one morning to find a poster blaring out with such slogans as, “*Keep ’em Sailing*,” “*You Bet I’m Going Back To Sea*,” “*Now It’s OK To Deliver the Goods*.”

I noted that at the meetings called by the ship’s delegate weekly, the Communist Party line was followed. Resolution after resolution would pass condemning this, that or the other. The seamen, confused by the Communist flip-flop—and noting that the recent change in the party line definitely looked and sounded American, consistently voted “*Yes*.” They sincerely believed that they were helping the war effort. For myself I was not confused. I understood the over-all picture. I know that Communists don’t flip-flop in the interests of *my* country. So I determined to become increasingly vigilant.

Never did there take place a meeting where issues were discussed free from the political ideologies of the Communist-fronters.

I found that it became impossible to enforce proper discipline, due to the strength and pressure that the Communist union officials had in various government agencies. Almost every effort to discipline would be destroyed because shipmasters knew that the Communist high-command would have a barrage of lawyers at the Coast Guard ready to undermine, through pressure, the carrying out of discipline.

I retained within myself my reactions. I became ever increasingly irritated by the activities of these so-called union delegates who made it impossible for me to maintain my ships in a proper sanitary condition—a condition that of necessity must prevail if I was to be held responsible for the comfort, health and safety of our soldiers—soldiers who were destined to sacrifice their lives for the preservation of the liberties that the Communists and Communist-fronters were so violently and deliberately seeking to undermine and destroy.

I complained vigorously in the Port of New York to Nathan Jacobson, Port Agent of the *Marine Cook’s and Steward’s Ass’n* CIO, and to Frank McCormick, Patrolman. They, in turn, made every effort to convince me that the men were really interested in fighting a “*peoples war*,” but were ever on guard against the shipowners. I (finally) realized

the futility of arguing with these perverted gentlemen. I knew that I could not (or would not be permitted) to sail unless I maintained membership in the union. The company or, for that matter, the government, who owned most of the ships, could not hire me (if I were not a member of the union) because of the existence of a closed-shop contract which protected the Muscovites. I soft-pedaled in the interest of my country. I then made up my mind to determine just what method of penetration was used by these Communist Stooges, which enabled them to control all the CIO Maritime Unions.

I cultivated the friendship of Frank McCormick, knowing that he was one of the leading Communists in the Maritime Unions. I drank with him, ate with him, and lived with him for four months, both in New York and, later, in San Francisco. During those four months he devoted himself to making me, what he called, "ready for the so-called workers' movement."

He introduced me to such leading Communists as Harry Bridges and Louis Goldblat of the ILWU; David Jenkins, Director of the *California Labor School*; John Wiley, Negro Race Agitator; Oleta O'Connor, high Communist Party functionary; Paul Schnur, Secretary of the CIO Council; Estolv Ward, CIOPAC; Dick Linden, President of Local 6, *Warehouseman's Union*; David Hedley, noncitizen official of the California CIO PAC; Revels Cayton, Secretary of the *National Negro Congress* and former member and race agitator in the *Marine Cooks and Stewards Union*; Mervyn Rathborne, State President of the California CIO and President of the *American Communication Association*; Walter Stack, *Marine Fireman, Oilers and Watertenders Union*; Blacky Quadros, *Marine Fireman and Watertenders Union*; Molly K. Spolmack, member of the *United Office and Professional Workers Union*; Elaine Sexton, organizer for the Communist Party and Mary Lake, Communist Party organizer.

McCormick introduced me to all the communists that were officials of the *Marine Cooks and Steward's Union*, such as, Hugh Bryson, President; Nathan Jacobsen, Vice President; Irving Dvorin, Baltimore Agent; Scotty Sneddon, Portland Agent; Joseph Harris, Seattle Agent; James Kiernan, Political Action Committee Patrolman; Eddie Lane, New Orleans Agent; Syd Kaufman, New York Agent; Ralph Vosbrink, Honolulu Patrolman; Louis Pinson, Educational Director and editor of the *Voice*, official organ of the union, and Chairman of the Waterfront Section of the Communist Party; Dennis Hooper, San Pedro Patrolman; Henry Fisher, San Francisco Patrolman; Harold Holland, San Francisco Patrolman; George Gutekunst, ghost writer for the union officials; Harry Nehrebecki, San Francisco Dispatcher; Duke Sexton, professional committee member; Joseph Johnson, race agitator and professional ships' delegate; Eddie Tangen, Seattle Patrolman; Jerry Tyler, Seattle PAC Patrolman; Wally Ho, professional ships' delegate; Peter Mendelsohn, Communist Party foreign propaganda distributor and financial manipulator; Clarence Ison, professional ships' delegate; Alden Clark, artist and professional ships' delegate; C. E. Johansen, ex-Baltimore Agent; Morris Pinsky, professional ships' delegate; Roney O'neal, Port Steward of Luckenbach Steamship Company; Paul Boyles, leading Communist Agitator and one-time official of the union; Sol Eidenoff, Baltimore

Patrolman ; Don Wollom, Portland Patrolman ; Percy Lawson, New York Patrolman ; Varney Ferris, San Francisco janitor ; Paul Timlin, Wilmington janitor and Chet Baker, professional delegate. McCormick told me that Rudy Esovich, Honolulu Agent, Joseph O'Connor, San Pedro Agent, and Eugene Burke, although not members of the Communist Party, always followed the party line. I found that McCormick was quite right subsequently for I witnessed their activities at the various union committee meetings and at the convention of the union.

I felt that I should approach McCormick and Bryson and tell them that I would like to become a member of the Communist Party. So during the month of February, 1945, I signified my desire and made known to them that I felt I was good material for the party. McCormick and Bryson agreed to recommend me for membership. On the following Wednesday, during the month of February, 1945, Frank McCormick invited me to attend a dinner at the home of Henry Fisher. When I arrived I was introduced to Mr. Walter Stack, Mrs. Stack, Mr. and Mrs. Richard Gladstein, and several others whom I had met previously. After dinner Mrs. Gladstein drove McCormick and me to 1410 Powell Street. I discovered that this was the meeting place of the Communist Party, Waterfront Section. McCormick secured a blank application for membership. (He) presented it to me (and) I filled it out and McCormick and Bryson signed it. We listened to a lecture delivered by Richard Gladstein, and then Louis Pinson, (the) chairman, introduced me to the membership that (had) gathered there. I was unanimously accepted for membership and congratulated by all present. The chairman then presented me with a membership-card which bears the signature of William Schneiderman, State Secretary of the Communist Party.

Whenever I was in port I attended all Communist Party meetings. I concluded that the Communists controlled the Marine Cooks and other water-front unions by the simple expedient of controlling the Thursday Union Meetings. This was possible because the officials of the union (all Communists) had deferment from the Army as essential employees. Therefore it was possible for them to attend all meetings. I also noted that at all weekly Wednesday night meetings were attended by professional ships' delegates who never fail to follow the party line at the regular Thursday meetings.

At the Communist Party meetings each individual was indoctrinated with the party line policy. Invariably after the regular party meeting a top-fraction meeting would take place at the home of George Gutekunst, 1422 Powell Street, or at the home of Bryson, Pinson, Fisher or Nehrebecki. Somehow I was invariably invited to attend these meetings—I presume because of my ability to deliver a rather forceful public speech. By this method of conveying through the top-fraction, only a chosen few were permitted to present the all important Communist Party line instructions. The lesser communists were instructed to always go along with the program. Failure to do so on their part would have meant discipline within the party or with expulsion from the union. Expulsion from the union would have meant that they would be denied the right to pursue their occupation as seamen.

I determined that I would rise in the ranks of the Union by doing all I could to further the Communist program, at the same time noting those parts of the program that were truly dangerous to our country.

During the month of April, 1945, a top-fraction meeting was held at the home of Hugh Bryson. Those attending were Bryson, Gladstein, McCormick, Pinson, Gutekunst, Kierman and Nehrebecki. Dick Gladstein acted as chairman. He went on to explain the reason for calling the convention which was to take place during the month of July. He pointed out what he called the wrongs of the constitution of the *Marine Cooks and Stewards Union*. He explained how the party, after it had passed a constitution for the *National Maritime Union*, managed to get complete control of the finances of the union and how they (the Communists) were able to steer its policy. He pointed out how impossible it was for the party to get funds for furthering its program under the existing union constitution and stated that he had, on instructions from the party membership, drawn up a constitution to be submitted to the convention in July.

Hugh Bryson then took the floor and read the proposed constitution which was prepared by Comrade Gladstein. He told the meeting that we were all expected to get behind the convention program. He informed us that we were expected on the following Wednesday meeting of the Communist Party's waterfront section to take active leadership. I attended the meeting as instructed and stated that I would ship and get myself nominated as (a) delegate to the convention. Harry Nehrebecki slipped me above the shipping-list as he had to follow party line policy.

It was agreed that the best method of controlling the convention would be to have party members assigned through the dispatchers' office to different ships, preferably coastwise, (so that) then the party would be assured of a compact controlling force which would assure passage of the "Gladstein Constitution."

Bryson pointed out that he would notify only those ships where comrades were presently assigned that a convention was to take place and that he would instruct them to be sure to attend.

Bryson was questioned as to how he was going to get permission to hold a convention. He stated that he had prior assurance that if we did not have over 100 delegates the *Office of Defense Transportation* would grant the permission. I, to this day, have not been able to determine what official of the *Office of Defense Transportation* granted the permission and resultantly, violated a government regulation against conventions being held during the war emergency. I realized that many organizations whose motives were strictly in the interests of the welfare of the American people were denied permission to hold conventions. Yet Mr. Bryson obtained permission from some Communist Party stooge in the employ of our government.

Now that the top-fraction and regular meetings of the Communist Party had decided on the party line, the Communist machine was put in high-gear. The opposition (anti-communist) within the union were constantly smeared. Seamen who were interested in true, sincere trade-unionism voiced their complaints against calling a convention during the war. But it was impossible to achieve any organized opposition due to the fact that men in the draft age had to ship; they did not have the privilege, as (did) the Communist officials, of enjoying a secure berth ashore, thanks to the government policy of salving the Communist Party line favorites. Others, who put country above union politics for the duration of the war, merely said they would make no effort to attend a con-

vention that obviously would be nothing more than a packed Communist caucus. They stated that they would wait until the war was over to fight against the un-American, undemocratic tactics of the Stalinite stooges.

I decided that I would follow through and make it a point to oppose the Communist-contrived constitution at the Convention. I joined the S. S. Cape Newenham, American Mail Lines, during the month of June. I was nominated unanimously as a delegate to the convention. On my return to San Francisco I presented my credentials to Hugh Bryson. He instructed me to be active around the hall in the interests of the party. I was active on numerous committees during the month of June and early July.

Ten days prior to the convention the agents and delegates from the different ports and ships began to arrive in San Francisco. A preconvention committee was made up of all delegates that were in the city at the time. I was made Chairman of the Housing Committee. I knew that the best spot for me would be on the Rules Committee and the Constitution (committee), so I informed Assistant Secretary Hugh Bryson that I felt I could best serve the interests of the party by being assigned on these two committees. He informed me that there would be a meeting of all party delegates the following Wednesday and (that) he would see to it that all party members received their instructions.

The Wednesday prior to the opening of the convention a meeting was held of all party members and fellow-travelers at 1410 Powell Street. The meeting was called to order by Louis Pinson. He forthwith introduced Richard Gladstein who told us the importance of having a well-organized, harmonious convention. He stated that this could best be achieved by arranging in advance all committees. He suggested that the meeting arrange all committees and agree on strategy. All agents were then named as chairman to the different committees. Then the Communists at the meeting were assigned to the different committee chairman. I was assigned to the Constitution and Rules Committees. We determined that a majority of all Communists had control of the committees. Bryson adjourned the caucus and Pinson then adjourned the general meeting with the closing admonition to be on the alert against any individuals who might attempt to disrupt the Communist Party program.

The Communist Party definitely were in high gear. When the convention opened July 23, 1945, there were in attendance 86 delegates out of a total membership of 15,000. Of these delegates 65 were from ships. (*The Marine Cooks and Stewards Union* had 1,250 ships under contract on that date). Ten delegates were from the branches. Eight were agents from the seaports where the *Marine Cooks and Stewards Union* maintain offices. Three were from the National Office. Fifty-two ships were actually represented which proves beyond question or doubt that the Communist Party-called convention was a farce.

Despite my continued opposition and exposé of the Communist plot to force an undemocratic constitution down the throats of our members, I was unable to muster more than seven members who were delegates to the convention in my fight against the Communist-packed convention.

In conclusion, I wish to state that I make this affidavit free from duress or request from any individual. My sole intent in so doing is to inform the people in government that there does exist a conspiracy—not

so small and insignificant as many would have us believe. This conspiracy does not exist solely within the organized structure of the *Marine Cooks and Stewards Union* but in other maritime and allied unions. Further, that I believe that the program of the Communist Party is international in pattern, and definitely un-American—un-American in the sense that (its members) are seditionists who are just as dictatorial and ruthless as the Nazis, Klu-Kluxers and Quislings. They are the Fifth Columnists. They can and will do more damage than the atom-bomb if there is not passed legislation outlawing the Communist Party.

I would be honored to be subpoenaed by any committee that is investigating the un-American activities of the Red Fascist scourge in our Country.

(Signed)

WILLIAM P. M. BRANDHOVE

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 9th day of December, 1946.

(Signed) ELLA COOK KELLY

*Notary Public in and for the
City and County of San Francisco,
State of California.*

My commission expires December 23, 1948.

HERBERT K. SORRELL AND THE MOTION PICTURE STRIKE

The committee conducted several days of public hearings in Los Angeles early in January of 1946. Among others, Herbert K. Sorrell was subpoenaed but failed to appear. He has headed the jurisdictional strike against *American Federation of Labor* locals in the Hollywood motion picture industry. The committee was well aware of Sorrell's activities in a multitude of Communist front organizations over a period of years.

At page 162 of the Committee's 1943 Report, Rena Vale, a former member of the *Communist Party of Los Angeles County*, explaining the methods of Communist penetration into *American Federation of Labor* unions, stated the following in a sworn affidavit:

* * * we sent directives to Don R. Healy, Secretary of *Labor's Non-Partisan League* of Los Angeles County, which, in turn, influenced a large bloc of votes in the CIO; and through Lou Baron and the facilities of the Los Angeles County Trade Union Commission of the Communist Party, we designated the best possible means for Communist Party members within the A. F. of L. to present Communist Party programs within their unions; Herb Sorrell, Business Agent for the Studio Painters' Union, was regarded as the only *Communist Party* comrade in an A. F. of L. Union in Los Angeles who could put over the entire "Party Line" in his union.

* * * the *Unemployed Conference of Studio Unions* which later became known as the "COMPAC" was referred to by our said commission as an organization which could be "counted on" to put over Communist Party programs; said Herb Sorrell, as well as the aforementioned Frank Tuttle were active in that organization.

At page 167, Miss Vale states:

* * * at the Los Angeles County Convention of the Communist Party, held at 121 West Eighteenth Street, Los Angeles, I encountered a number of comrades who had been mentioned previously; I recall that Herb Sorrell was doorman at the session I attended, and accepted my credentials * * *.

The committee found the following (1943 Report, p. 95):

Indicative of collaboration with the Communist Party and the faithful fellow-traveling of certain alleged labor leaders, is Herbert K. Sorrell, who testified in Los Angeles July 31, 1941. (Volume II, pp. 452-474). He testified that he was the business representative of the *Motion Picture Painters*, Local 644, of the *American Federation of Labor*. The committee is in possession of a photostatic copy of Sorrell's application to join the *Communist Party* in which he used the name *Stewart*. Sorrell denied that he had ever used such name, although under close examination, he admitted that his

mother's maiden name was Daisy Frances Stewart. He denied that he was a member of the Communist Party and stated that he knew nothing of the Communist Party Convention held in Los Angeles in April-May, 1938. He freely admitted that he followed the Communist Party line when he thought it was "all right," although he stated that Paul Cline and Jack Moore came to him at a time when he was trying to raise the per capita tax of his union and told him that he was "going against the Communist Party line." (p.471.)

The activities of Sorrell over a period of years are well known to the committee. He has served as A. F. of L. "window-dressing" for most of Southern California Communist front organizations, such as *California Conference for Democratic Action*, *Labors' Nonpartisan League*, *Motion Picture Democratic Committee* and the *American Peace Mobilization*. He has been a consistent subscriber to the *People's Daily World*. His name is carried on the letterhead of the *Harry Bridges' Defense Committee*. In 1940 he was the State President of *Labors' Nonpartisan League*. The letterhead of the *Schneiderman-Darcy Defense Committee* contained his name in January of 1940. In July of 1940 he appeared as an officer in the *American Peace Crusade*. On November 2, 1942, he headed a committee of alleged Democrats endorsing and supporting Mrs. La Rue McCormick, Communist Party candidate for State Senate from the Thirty-eighth Senatorial District. There is no doubt in the minds of the members of the committee of the close association and fellow-traveler status in the Communist Party of Herbert K. Sorrell.

The committee report for 1945 found that Herbert K. Sorrell was one of the endorsers for a "call" to a "Conference on behalf of the *People's Daily World*" for Wednesday, August 4, 1943, at 8 p.m., at the *First Unitarian Church*, located at the corner of Eighth Street and Vermont Avenue in the City of Los Angeles.

The purpose of the conference was to raise funds for the continued publication of the west coast Red Fascist journal, the *People's Daily World*. John Howard Lawson, former Associate Editor of the official organ of the *Communist Party of the United States*, the *Daily Worker*; Leo Gallagher, Los Angeles Communist attorney and law partner of Charles Katz; Assemblyman Augustus F. Hawkins of the Sixty-second Assembly District; Carey McWilliams; Pettis Perry, former Secretary of the Communist Party of Los Angeles County, and Max Silver, admitted Communist functionary, were among the endorsers of the "call" for the "conference" on behalf of California's Communist propaganda sheet.

At page 142 of the Committee's 1945 Report, the committee made the following statement:

Herbert Sorrell is an officer in the *Studio Painters' Union*, A. F. of L. He has persistently followed the Communist Party line. He subscribes to the Communist Party publication, the *People's Daily World*. Leaflets distributed in July of 1940 listed Sorrell as an officer in the *American Peace Crusade*, Communist organization. He also appeared as an endorser for Mrs. La Rue McCormick, Communist Party candidate for State Senator, in a paid political advertisement in the *Los Angeles Times*, November 2, 1942.

TESTIMONY OF HAND-WRITING EXPERTS

The committee made every effort to secure the appearance of Sorrell for its Los Angeles hearing, January 3-5, 1946. Although Sorrell was properly served he refused to come before the committee on the ground that he was engaged in the Superior Court of the County of Los Angeles. Counsel for the committee then put in evidence a duly identified and authenticated application for membership in the Communist Party signed "Herbert Stewart." Exemplars or samples of Sorrell's handwriting were produced. These documents were analyzed by J. Clark Sellers and John L. Harris, experts on questioned documents. J. Clark Sellers is considered one of the world's outstanding experts in this field. He testified in the Lindbergh kidnapping case and in the Hickman case. Both Mr. Sellers and Mr. Harris testified under oath that the person who signed the application for membership in the Communist Party as *Herbert Stewart* was the same person who wrote the exemplars submitted to them for comparison.

Mr. Sellers' testimony, in part, is as follows:

Q. (By Mr. Combs): Now, we will take the document, "Control Card, First Half of 1937." What was your conclusion with regard to that?

A. My conclusion with regard to that is that the person who wrote the exemplars which were submitted to me as being the genuine handwriting of Herbert K. Sorrell wrote the name "Herb Stewart" on this card which begins "Control Card, First Half 1937, Book No. 74282." Also, the same writer, in my opinion, wrote the word "Calif." following the word "State," and wrote the letters "L. A." following the word "City." I could not identify him as having written the numeral "13" following the word "District"—and the person who wrote the exemplars wrote the word "Industrial" following the word "Section," and wrote the word "painter" following the word "occupation," and wrote the word "Painter's 644" following the word "Union," and the word "yes" following the word "male" and the numeral "41" following the word "age" and the word "yes" following the word "white."

Q. Now, will you take the other questioned document which bears the number 60622, membership book; what was your conclusion with regard to that?

A. It is my conclusion that the person who wrote the exemplars submitted to me as being the genuine handwriting of Herbert K. Sorrell wrote the name "Herb Stewart." Immediately above the printed word "signature" on this document is the number in printing "60622," and below that number are the words, "I have received membership book." Then below the signature "Herb Stewart" there is some other handwriting that I was not able to identify as having been written by writer of the exemplars. It is my opinion that that writing was written by the same writer who wrote the handwriting on the card which begins in printing, "1938 Registration Blank."

Mr. Harris concluded his testimony with the following :

Q. (By Mr. Combs) : Did you examine each and all of the exemplars to which I have directed your attention ?

A. Yes, I did.

Q. For the purpose of determining whether or not the person who wrote the material on the exemplars was the same person who wrote the material which appears on the two questioned documents ?

A. Yes, that was the purpose of my examination.

Q. What was your conclusion ?

A. My conclusion was that the signature "Herbert Stew-art"—Is this Exhibit 3 ?—

Q. That is right.

A. —on Exhibit 3, and all of the pencil writing—this document doesn't have a number.

Q. All of the pencil writing on the document, which states "Control Card, First Half 1937" ?

A. Yes, with the possible exception of the "1" and the "3" opposite the printed word "District." It is my conclusion and my opinion that all of that writing was written by the same person who wrote these exemplars identified to me as the genuine handwriting of Herbert Sorrell * * *.

Thus the secret Communist Party affiliation of Herbert K. Sorrell is thoroughly established.

COMMUNIST STRATEGY TO DESTROY A. F. OF L. UNIONS

It should be noted that the activities of Herbert K. Sorrell continue the Communist strategy for the destruction of *American Federation of Labor* unions in the motion picture industry. This Communist threat was effectively blocked several years ago when the Communist inspired and dominated *United Studio Technicians Guild* went down to defeat in an election before the *National Labor Relations Board*. The activities of the Communists in the futile attempt of the *United Studio Technicians Guild* to capture Hollywood and its labor organizations is detailed in reports by Jeff Kibre, Communist functionary in labor matters, to his Commissar-in-Chief Roy Hudson of New York.

The Sorrell jurisdictional strike is now well into its second year. The strike has received considerable publicity because of its attendant bloodshed, riots and the complete disregard for law and order on the part of Sorrell and his followers. Sorrell's attack has been directed generally against the *International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees'* locals in Hollywood, and the battlefield has mostly been at the entrance of *Warner Brothers Studio* in Burbank. Committee observers visited the studios on many occasions and watched the so-called "strikers" defiantly violate court orders and brazenly resist the efforts of law-enforcing agents to protect life and property. On many occasions the alleged "picket-line" consists of hundreds of men and women milling back and forth before studio entrances. Automobiles were over-turned and damaged and highways blocked. During the rioting more than 50

people a day were hospitalized on studio lots. Herb Sorrell, in open defiance of the police and sheriffs and the orders of the superior court, vigorously directed the "revolutionary training" of the members of his Conference of Studio Unions.

The committee should point out here that Sorrell had formerly testified under oath before the committee that he was not, and never had been, a member of the *Communist Party*. A Communist, as has heretofore been pointed out on many occasions, must necessarily be an atheist. He is fully convinced that "the means justifies the end" and that lying, even under oath, is a Communist virtue if it advances the cause of Joe Stalin and moves the world just a little closer to the dictatorship of the proletariat. During more than six years' experience in this field, the committee has rarely found a person, known to the committee to be a Communist, who freely admitted his affiliation with the party, unless the individual happened to be a full-time functionary.

The records of Communist Party membership are never kept at Communist Party headquarters. They are usually hidden in the residence of a trusted member and are frequently moved from place to place for the purpose of protection. Dues are always paid in cash and are rarely deposited in a bank. The more prominent a Communist Party member happens to be the more certain it is that there is no record whatever of his affiliation.

LEFT-HANDED PEOPLE

When it is discovered that an individual is an habitual subscriber to the Communist Party periodical, the *People's Daily World*, is a member of several Communist front organizations, follows the Communist Party line and generally associates with known members of the Communist Party, is willing to condemn Fascism while vehemently refusing to condemn Communism, it may be properly assumed that such an individual is something more than a mere fellow-traveler.

When it is found that a man writes with his left hand, brushes his teeth with his left hand and eats with his left hand, it is idiotic to conclude that such an individual is right handed.

Herb K. Sorrell, under ordinary circumstances, would be a very unimportant individual. He probably might have developed into a very good house painter. He is, personally, a likable fellow. He probably doesn't like journeyman painting, and his frustration and sense of guilt is compensated by the hearty back-slapping bestowed upon him by the Communist hierarchy. He is inclined to grow more arrogant as his defiance for law and order goes unpunished. He pictures himself as a professional revolutionist leading the down-trodden proletariat (in this case the highest paid workers in the world) on the barricades, resisting the oppression and tyranny of the industrial barons.

COMMUNIST LITERATURE AT SORRELL'S MASS MEETINGS

Sorrell has called the members of his striking *Conference of Studio Unions* into mass "pep" meetings about once a week during the current jurisdictional strike. The committee's agents have covered most of these meetings and have observed the Communist steering committees at work on the non-Communist members. Communist literature is freely distributed at all of these meetings. At a meeting of January 19, 1947, an agent

of the committee was handed a pamphlet entitled "What Is the Role of Communists in the Hollywood Unions?"

This pamphlet was issued, according to the notation on the last page, by the *Morris Smolan Club, Communist Party* (124 W. Sixth Street, Los Angeles, TR. 7913). A commercial post-card addressed to the *People's Daily World*, 590 Folsom Street, San Francisco 5, California, accompanied the Communist pamphlet. The back of the post-card reads as follows:

GREETINGS:

Special Hollywood Edition of People's Daily World

I understand the special issue of the *Daily People's World* of January 29, 1947, will cover the following subjects: "Who Owns Hollywood," "Labor History of Motion Picture Industry," "What Unity Means to Studio Workers," "Job Reading," "Injunction Menace."

Please mail me without charge a copy of this special edition.

The figures "24," made by a rubber-stamp, are superimposed over the figures "29," correcting the special issue of the *People's Daily World* in question to January 24, 1947.

The Communist pamphlet asks the question: "Are there Communists in Hollywood unions?" The answer given is as follows:

Yes. Communists are working people; Communism is a working class movement. So it is natural to find them in trade unions. They know the importance of unions in workers' economic advancement and in the development of American Democracy.

In answer to the question: "Do Communists want to dominate the film industry for propaganda purposes?" we find the following:

No. The producers try to evade the real issue of signed contracts for their workers by raising the phoney issue of "Red Control." You know and we know film policy and content is determined by those who *own* the studios not by those who *work* in them. Few pictures treat the lives and problems of the ordinary American worker in an honest, constructive way. The banks and their producer stooges continue their long tradition of "cheesecake" and "escapism," hoping to divert the attention of the common man from the real problems of housing, peace, health, jobs, and high prices.

In answer to the question: "Just what is a Communist?" is the following:

A Communist trade unionist understands it is not enough to be militant and progressive. He knows the working class must know where it is headed if it is to avoid blind alleys. The fight of the labor movement for its just demands important as it is, can but partially solve the problems of the working class.

The Marxist theory of Scientific Socialism provides the answer. Marxism proves no economic system is eternal. Slavery gave way to

feudalism, feudalism to capitalism. Each change raised man's living standard and increased his freedom. The colossus, Capitalism, long unable to use its full productive power except for war, is a millstone around the neck of human progress. Our gigantic industry, agriculture, science, and new atomic sources of power cannot be used for the people's benefit until Socialism gives the American people control of its own destiny. Peace or war, jobs or hunger, the path of our lives must no longer depend upon the interests and profits of the economic royalists.

The Communist trade unionist accepts Socialism as the ultimate goal, while working to improve the living conditions of the people and helping to raise the political consciousness of the working class.

A. F. OF L. STAND ON SORRELL'S ATTEMPT TO CAPTURE HOLLYWOOD

An open letter signed by 25 *A. F. of L.* Unions, representing 25,000 workers in the Hollywood motion picture industry, was recently published in the trade papers in Hollywood. The committee believes this letter of such importance that it is hereafter set forth in full.

HOLLYWOOD, CALIF., February 5, 1947

DEAR SIRs AND BROTHERS: The undersigned American Federation of Labor Unions, representing more than 75 percent of the workers in the Hollywood motion picture studios, wish to give you the facts of the current labor situation in Hollywood.

The finest trade union agreements in America exist in the picture studios and we are working under them today. With very few exceptions, these agreements are with bona fide *A. F. of L.* Unions, long established and long recognized as the bulwark of the American labor movement. From the actors and stars, who are united in the *A. F. of L. Screen Actors Guild*, through the scale of human endeavor to the laborers who work on the back lots and the janitors who clean the offices—all are members of their appropriate *A. F. of L. Union*. All in all, the Hollywood motion picture producers recognize and deal with the independent talent guilds, such as directors, writers, etc. With one or two exceptions even these guilds have a 100 percent union shop.

Typical of the prevailing wage scales our unions have been able to establish in the studios are the following: \$1.25 an hour for janitors; \$1.50 an hour and up for laborers; \$1.75 an hour for drivers; \$2.25 an hour for journeymen; \$2.56 an hour for gang bosses; and \$165 a week for flat salaried foremen, all of whom are members of their respective unions. Minimum wage rates for the highly skilled crafts, such as the *A. F. of L. cameramen*, run as high as \$375 weekly. These are minimum rates and many work over scale, yet all of these workers are members of their *A. F. of L. unions*. In no place else in America do workers in this kind of wage bracket maintain an active membership in labor unions.

In addition to these wage rates, outstanding conditions have been obtained, such as double time for Sundays, eight-hour minimum

calls, 10 percent night premium for all work after 6 p.m., time and one-half for all workers called after 8 p.m., and vacations with pay. Unique in labor contracts is our so-called "golden hours" provision which provides that any worker having worked over 14 hours receives $2\frac{1}{2}$ times his regular rate; or if such a worker is called back after his full shift without a full eight hours rest, such worker also receives "golden hours" or $2\frac{1}{2}$ times his rate.

Despite these outstanding wages and working conditions, the motion picture industry has been cursed by ever-recurring strikes called by a small group of unions whose disruptive leadership casts discredit on the entire American Federation of Labor and trade union movement generally. This disruptive leadership of a small minority of the Hollywood unions is the real reason for the labor strife here.

This very small group of striking unions are now trying to gain sympathy for themselves by circulating throughout America, particularly in the labor press, statements which seek to place us—the majority of the A. F. of L. unions in Hollywood—in the position of collaborating with the Motion Picture Producers Association in an alleged attempt to break other unions. The facts do not support any part of this unfounded propaganda and we, the undersigned A. F. of L. unions representing the very great majority of the workers in the studios, feel it is imperative that you should know the facts.

Of the approximately 30,000 A. F. of L. union workers in the motion picture industry, less than 7,000 are represented by the disruptive leadership of a few unions which call themselves the Conference of Studio Unions. The Conference of Studio Unions is a rump organization without standing in the American Federation of Labor and is a dual organization, conflicting with our duly constituted A. F. of L. Central Labor Council of Los Angeles. For some years now, the CSU leadership has been attempting to capture or destroy other A. F. of L. unions in the industry.

The existing Hollywood strike is strictly jurisdictional, and has been so labeled by the American Federation of Labor. The strike was called by CSU to support CSU's defiance of an arbitration award setting jurisdictional lines in the studios, said award being made by three impartial arbitrators chosen by the A. F. of L. Executive Council. Any support given to the current CSU strike is support for a program of destruction of A. F. of L. unions in the studios.

The undersigned bona fide A. F. of L. unions, representing a great majority of the A. F. of L. workers in Hollywood, urge you to help us keep the motion picture studios under the banner of the

American Federation of Labor and to keep our unions an American institution. Please bring this important matter to the attention of your members.

Sincerely and fraternally,

(Signed)

International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees and
Motion Picture Machine Operators of the United States and
Canada,

Affiliated Property Craftsmen, Local 44,

Studio Grips, Local 80,

Studio Projectionists, Local 165,

Studio Mechanics, Local 468,

International Photographers, Local 659,

International Sound Technicians, Local 695,

Motion Picture Laborers and Utility Workers, Local 727,

Motion Picture Electricians, Local 728,

First Aid Employees, Local 767,

Film Editors, Local 776,

Hotel and Restaurant Employees International, Locals 17, 284,
440, 468, and 639,

Screen Actors Guild,

Screen Extras Guild,

American Federation of Musicians,

International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Local 399,

International Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers'
Union, Local 724,

IATSE Film Technicians, Local 683,

Costumers, Local 705,

Make-up Artists and Hair Stylists, Local 706,

Operative Plasterers' and Cement Finishers' International
Association, Local 755,

Studio Cinetechnicians, Local 23968.

*(Comments on this matter directed to any or all of the unions signing
this letter may be addressed to P. O. Box 2091, Hollywood, Calif.)*

HOLLYWOOD COMMUNITY RADIO GROUP

In 1946 the *Hollywood Community Radio Group* was incorporated in California. The board of directors is composed of the following:

Alvin Wilder,	George Campbell,
Calvin Cuhl (or Kuhl),	Dr. Franklin Fearing,
Paul Stewart,	Emil Corwin,
Pauline Lauber,	William Pomerance,
John T. McTernan,	Philip M. Connolly,
H. S. Kraft,	Abraham Polonsky.
Sam Moore,	

An advisory council to the corporation was set up composed of the following:

Simon Eisner,	John D. Entenza,
Dr. Linus Carl Pauling,	Harry Hoijer,
Dr. Edward A. Cykler,	Mrs. Sybil K. Richardson,
Dr. Chauncey A. Alexander,	Carey McWilliams,
Max Silverstein,	Oscar Pattiz.

The list of stockholders and prospective stockholders is as follows:

John McTernan,	Larry Adler,
Charles Katz,	Robert W. Kenny,
Ray S. Avery,	Frances Hackett,
Elick Moll,	Agnes O'Malley Marx,
Theodore Saidenberg,	Ben Margolis,
Reginald Johnson,	Emil Corwin,
E. D. Mitchell,	M. A. Halprin,
Seniel Ostrow,	Anna Halprin,
Peter Kahn, Jr.,	Alice Cohee,
Kenneth Macgowan,	Dan A. West,
Lisl Henreid,	Charles Brown,
Albert Hackett,	O. S. Pattiz,
Robert Shaw,	Lillian Tausig,
Howard Koch,	Vera Casperly,
Owen Vinson,	John Cromwell,
George Coulouris,	David Hertz,
Leo Goldberg,	Samuel Rosen,
John Garfield,	Leahn J. Halprin,
R. B. Roberts,	Jean Sieroty,
Allan Scott,	Jack Y. Berman,
Alvin Wilder,	Robert Triest,
Samuel Moore,	Franklin Fearing,
Peg LaCentra Stewart,	M. W. Pomerance,
Paul Stewart,	Pauline Lauber,

Abraham Polonsky,
E. E. Kotkin,
George Campbell,
Paul Henreid,
Anne Revere,

George Beller,
Ranald MacDougall,
Paul Jarrico,
Jack L. Brostoff.

This group, through the *Hollywood Community Group, Inc.*, filed applications with the *Federal Communications Commission* for a standard broadcasting station and a frequency modulation station to be located in the County of Los Angeles.

EMERGENCY COMMITTEE ON KFI

For many months prior to February 10, 1945, radio listeners in Los Angeles County (when they did not tune the station out) were bombarded with pro-Soviet, red-slanted propaganda emanating from Los Angeles Radio Station KFI through the media of several news-analysts and commentators. The commentators in question were Alvin Wilder, William Blackiston, Peter De Lima, Rodriguez & Sutherland and Sam Balter. Committee investigators had followed the broadcasts of these self-alleged "news analysts" and were aware of the red propaganda character of the programs. The committee had received many letters protesting against the pro-Communist and pro-Soviet slant consistently coloring the programs in the news casts of these men.

Alvin Wilder became active in Los Angeles County some time in 1943. He was present in August, 1943, at a forum-discussion sponsored by the Communist *League of American Writers* together with John Howard Lawson, Fred Rinaldo and John Cohee. (*People's Daily World*, August 13, 1943, page 5, columns 7-8). He was advertised to speak with Jack Burke and the nationally known Communist, Max Bedacht, in the *People's Daily World*, January 28, 1944, page 3, columns 5-6. The *People's Daily World* in its issue for March 23, 1944 (page 3, column 3) reported that Alvin Wilder would preside as Moderator at a meeting of the West Side District of the *International Workers Order*, well known Communist fraternal organization. In July of 1944 he became a member of the Executive Committee of the Communist *Hollywood Democratic Committee*. The *People's Daily World* for March 30, 1945 (page 4, column 8) listed Wilder as a judge in a debate given under *American Youth for Democracy (Young Communist League)* sponsorship together with Judge Stanley Moffatt and Morris Cohen, President of the Los Angeles Chapter of the *National Lawyers Guild* (Communist front for attorneys). He became affiliated with the Communist Party school, the *People's Educational Center* in Los Angeles in the summer of 1945. He appeared as a sponsor of the *Citizens Committee to Aid Locked Out Hearst Employees*, a Communist inspired and dominated group, in October of 1946.

In the early summer of 1945 at a meeting of the *Hollywood Democratic Committee* (now the *Hollywood Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions*) it was announced that a mass meeting would be held at the *Hollywood Women's Club* at Hollywood Avenue and La Brea in the City of Los Angeles under the auspices

of the *Emergency Committee on KFI* in order to perfect plans for a "People's Protest" against Radio Station KFI in discharging the six commentators in question.

A typical Communist pamphlet immediately appeared and was widely distributed. On the front page appeared the following:

You have a problem Mr. Anthony . . .

The people want to know why

You fired

Six commentators

From Station KFI

The pamphlet read as follows:

THE FACTS

On February 10:

Station KFI sent a telegram to the sponsors of these six commentators dismissing them as of March 1st.

Alvin Wilder

William Blackiston

Peter De Lima

Rodriguez & Sutherland

Sam Balter

The Sponsors Objected

The people protested

From February 10 to March 30:

Station KFI and Earl C. Anthony *refused* to say anything. The station would not permit the commentators to say "good-bye" to their audiences or to explain the reason for their sudden removal from KFI's frequency.

On March 30:

KFI issued in answer to thousands of indignant letters, the following:

"To be impartial, sponsorship of local commentators will be discontinued"

"Commentators stir up controversy to make audiences for themselves"

"KFI's listeners will get the facts impartially analyzed"

"The issue of free speech is not involved"

The emergency committee on KFI

Formed as a protest against the station's action claimed a

"Violation of free speech has been perpetrated."

The committee answered KFI's statement immediately

"Earl C. Anthony has deprived you, the listener, of the right which you have always had, to decide for yourself what news program, analyst and commentator you prefer. We do not intend to sit back and allow a station owner to usurp this simple American right."

KFI's statement does NOT explain

Why KFI insists all newscasters be in the employ of the station

Why the sponsors were not allowed to retain the six commentators

Why KFI refused to broadcast their decision

Why opinions expressed by station employed analysts are more impartial than those of the dismissed men

This committee is going to act

Does this station which preempts free speech violate public rights in other respects? Is it contributing to the best interests of the community? The *emergency committee* is making a thorough investigation, one that will give the Federal Communications Commission the facts it must have to hand down a decision.

Now here is what you can do . . .

You as a firm believer in free speech

Must write five (5)

immediate letters

of protest!

To Earl C. Anthony, who heads the corporation owning KFI, and is Los Angeles distributor for Packard Automobiles, at 1000 S. Hope Street, Los Angeles.

To Paul Porter, Chairman of FCC (Federal Communications Commission) which body can revoke Earl C. Anthony's license. Ask for an investigation and send a copy of your letter to Anthony. Address FCC, Washington, D. C.

To your two California Senators, Sheridan Downey and Hiram Johnson, Senate Building, Washington, D. C.

To Your Congressman. You know his or her name. Address House of Representatives Office Building, Washington, D. C.

EMERGENCY COMMITTEE ON KFI

357 S. Hill Street, 431 Black Building

MI. 6820

Among the members of the *Emergency Committee on KFI* the committee finds Nicholas Bela, Mrs. Elmer Belt, Marc Connelly, Frank J. Pellett, Phillip Connelly, Bette Davis, Isaac Pacht, Walter Wanger,

Sadie Ornitz, Normon O. Houston, and the Rev. Clayton Russel. The committee is headed by Mary McCall, Jr.

The meeting of the *Emergency Committee on KFI* at the *Hollywood Women's Club* was called to order by H. S. Kraft. Appearing on the program was Rollin McNitt, Los Angeles attorney who, over the past few years, has been moving more and more to the left. John B. Hughes, left-wing radio commentator and a member of the Executive Committee of the *Hollywood Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions*, was one of the speakers. He particularly championed the cause of radio commentators, Sam Balter.

The chairman announced that the meeting had received a telegram signed by Helen Gahagan Douglas, Ned Healy and Ellis Patterson, members of Congress. He also announced that a telegram had been received from Albert Dekker, then Assemblyman in the California Legislature.

Mrs. Leon Yankwich, wife of Federal Court Judge Yankwich, spoke. She was followed by Irving Pichel who read a paper on the dismissal of the KFI radio commentators.

Irving Pichel has a long and interesting Communist fellow-traveling record. He heretofore has acted on behalf of the Communist element in Spain, sponsored the *Hollywood Anti-Nazi League* and has been active generally in the Hollywood Communist front movement. He sponsored an auction on behalf of the *New Masses*, a Communist magazine, promoted by one Joe Foster. (Joe Foster met with Communists Bruce Minton, Ruth McKinney and William Gropper in a secret meeting in Los Angeles. See the *Los Angeles Examiner* for Sunday, June 10, 1945.)

The most important part of camouflaged Communist front meetings is the collection of funds. The goal set for the *Emergency Committee on KFI* was \$100,000. Stooges or "lures" are usually planted throughout the audience at such meetings, and when donations are called for the "plants" create hysteria in donating which is transmitted to the mob. Many people arise to their feet and either make immediate donations in cash or pledge future sums of money. After the large pledges and donations are collected, girls, selected beforehand, go through the audience with cigar-boxes and cans for such smaller donations as may be available. At this particular meeting the *International Workers Order*, the Communist Insurance Unit, donated \$10. The *Hollywood Women's Council* donated \$25. A man who said he represented the *Seeley Mattress Company*, former radio sponsor of Alvin Wilder, declared that he was donating \$100 on behalf of his fellow-workers in the mattress company. He demanded an immediate boycott of KFI.

While the girls were going through the audience, Bill Pennell, Alvin Wilder and Peter De Lima were introduced. Reuben Borroughs followed and spoke on behalf of the *Hollywood Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions*, of which he is an executive council member. He called upon Walter Wanger, Sam Ornitz, Bill Oliver and John Cohee to stand up and take a bow if they were in the audience.

Thus, the *Emergency Committee on KFI* came into being.

This mass meeting was followed by others. At the meeting held Sunday, August 5, 1945, at the Women's Club in Hollywood, Peter

De Lima was one of the speakers. His subject was "Dies, Rankin and Tenney." He read a prepared speech. The committee's investigator who covered the meeting made this interesting comment in his written report:

If the writer may digress at this point for just a moment, this speaker, in the writer's estimation, is the greatest character-assassinator he has ever had the pleasure of listening to. This man, with his gangrenous tongue and his jowls virtually dripping venom, pollutes the very air in which he stands.

Elmer A. Benson, former Governor of Minnesota and head of the *National Citizens Political Action Committee* in 1945, was one of the speakers at the August 5th meeting. C. B. Baldwin, another one of the leaders of the *National Citizens Political Action Committee*, also spoke.

THE PLOT THICKENS

Under date of November 1, 1945, on the stationery of the *Emergency Committee on KFI*, appeared the following mimeographed letter:

"DEAR FRIEND: This is an appeal for your participation in the struggle for radio freedom. As you know the situation is reaching a crisis stage.

"The KFI case with its precedent setting policy of demanding the commentators and news analysts be in the direct financial control of the station * * *.

"The subpoenaing of six liberal commentators scrips by the Rankin Committee in Washington * * *.

"The attempted monopolization of FM stations by large commercial interests in defiance of the concept of FM broadcasting in the public interest * * *.

"The overcommercialization of radio and a serious threat of monopoly of the air.

"This is the challenge. Public response to the program of the Emergency Committee proves that a large portion of the American people realize that if we lose radio freedom we lose one of the bulwarks of American Democracy.

"Our committee is now organizing a National Committee for Radio Freedom. We are preparing a brief to be presented to the FCC challenging KFI's application for an FM station and their renewal of their broadcasting license.

"We are mobilizing public support for the Celler Radio Bill, which is a Bill of Rights for American radio which contains a provision specifically covering the KFI case. Representative Celler met recently with the Emergency Committee and is working closely with both the local and the national organizations.

"This is a program that intimately affects you and your organization, for without a free radio no worthwhile objectives can be achieved.

"We are inviting you to participate in this campaign for a free radio for free Americans. Will you join with many other community organizations in an urgent meeting Thursday evening, November 8th, 8 p.m. at the Garden Court Hotel, 7021 Hollywood Boulevard.

Yours sincerely,

HON. THOMAS FORD, Chairman
Emergency Committee on KFI"

The letterhead discloses that Dr. Frederick Roman is also the chairman and that Audrey Jampol is Executive Secretary. Other names printed on the letterhead are as follows:

Mrs. Elizabeth Alexander,
Harmon Alexander,
Nicholas Bela,
Mrs. Elmer Belt,
Henry Blankfort,
Reuben Borough,
Dr. Ernest Caldecott,
Judge John Gee Clark,
Marc Connelly,
Phillip Connelly,
Emil Corwin,
Calvin Cuhl,
Bette Davis,
Mrs. William Dieterle,
Hon. Thomas Ford,
John Anson Ford,
B. Grobstein,
David Grutman,
Louise Harris,
Norman O. Houston,

H. S. Kraft,
Mary McCall, Jr.,
Loraine McDonald,
Rollin McNitt,
John McTernan,
Sadie Ornitz,
Isaac Pacht,
Oscar Pattiz,
Frank G. Pellett,
Mrs. Rae Prezfeld,
Herbert Rosenfeld,
Mrs. Curt Rosenow,
W. J. Rundall,
Robert Shaw,
Herman Tepp,
Bob Wachsmen,
Harriet Von Breton,
Walter Wanger,
Mary J. Workman.

As has been heretofore stated, one of the committee's investigators had joined two Communist front organizations under different aliases. On December 20, 1945, the committee's agent received two telegrams, one for each of his aliases, as follows:

Immediate action is needed as applications for FM stations are now being granted by the Federal Communications Commission. Majority of these applicants already control large newspapers and radio stations. Democratic groups must organize immediately to prevent autocratic control of FM stations. An emergency to meet this threat and to discuss organizing the California Committee for Radio Freedom will be held December 28, at 8.00 p.m. Hollywood Studio Club, 1215 Lodi Place. Imperative you and your organiza-

tion be represented as the situation is desperate and affects your organization. Please confirm MI. 0795.

(Signed)

EMERGENCY COMMITTEE ON KFI

Reuben Borough
Judge John Gee Clark
Rabbi Edgar F. Magnin
Rev. Clayton Russell
George Campbell
Rollin McNitt

John Anson Ford
Emil Corwin
Mary McCall, Jr.
Frank Pellett
Phillip Connelly

CALIFORNIA COMMITTEE FOR RADIO FREEDOM

The meeting of December 28, 1945 at the *Hollywood Studio Club* was more or less directed by the members of the Executive Board of the *Hollywood Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions*. Reuben Borough acted as chairman. Emil Corwin, formerly of the CIO *Political Action Committee*, declared that the time had come for the group to put in a bid for radio time. He suggested the formation of a new committee to be known as the *California Committee for Radio Freedom*.

Reuben Borough called for an expansion of the committee and the names of Hi Kraft, Al Wirin, Kenneth Fulton and Bartley Crum were suggested. It was announced that Emil Corwin was to be engaged as a full-time employee of the organization. Borough was selected as the chairman of the new committee.

Alvin Wilder stated in substance: "We need plenty of cash. The workers have saved the world. Now we in America are obliged to work with other liberals to save free speech. Only through the radio can we have free speech. In 1944 some radio stations removed liberal commentators. Liberal commentators are barred. We are proud of Patterson, Healy and Gahagan—they were elected by the radio. Now we have scarcely any liberal commentators. We need \$50,000 to carry on our work. We will sell stock—we can sell stock to the labor unions * * * ."

Assemblyman Albert Dekker, Kenneth Fulton and Al Wirin were present and spoke from the floor.

BEHIND THE SCENE

Alvin Wilder was subpoenaed and testified at the committee's October hearing in Los Angeles. He stated that he was the president of the *Hollywood Community Radio Group, Inc.* He declared that Paul Stewart was the first vice president, Calvin Cuhl was second vice president and that John McTernan was the treasurer. The directors were Franklin Fearing, Sam Moore, Abraham Polonsky, Philip M. Connelly, George Campbell, William Pomerance, Hi Kraft, Emil Corwin and Pauline Lauber (Pauline Lauber Finn).

During the course of his examination, Wilder testified that, in addition to his radio activities, he had interested himself in a number of organizations. He admitted that he was a member of the *Hollywood Democrat Committee*, the *Hollywood Independent Citizens Committee of*

the Arts, Sciences and Professions, and that he had been a sponsor for *American Youth for Democracy*, formerly the *Young Communist League*.

Pauline Lauber Finn is the wife of Aubrey Finn. She is executive secretary of the *Hollywood Writers' Mobilization*. She receives a yearly salary of around \$6,000, which was made available by the *Los Angeles Community Chest* in 1945 and 1946. The *CIO Labor Herald*, in its issue of October 19, 1945 (page 2, columns 3-4), carries a photo of Mrs. Finn planning a mass film rally at the Olympic Auditorium in support of "strikers' civil liberties."

Paul Stewart was scheduled as a speaker on the *Hollywood Writers' Mobilization* forums which were advertised as commencing December 6, 1946, according to a statement appearing in a pamphlet published by that organization.

Calvin Kuhl (or Cuhl) as has heretofore been stated, is a member of the *Hollywood Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions* (HICCASP). He is an officer in the *Hollywood Writers' Mobilization*. In October of 1945 Kuhl sent a telegram to the Chief of Police in Glendale expressing his sympathy for Sorrell's arrested strikers.

John T. McTernan formerly served in the legal department of the *National Labor Relations Board* and with the *Office of Price Administration*. The *People's Daily World* for September 17, 1943 (page 1, columns 2 and 3), carries an article concerning McTernan's discharge from the *Office of Price Administration*. In June of 1944 he became associated with the law firm of Gallagher, Katz & Margolis. He is a member of the *National Lawyers' Guild* and subscribes to the Communist Party newspaper, the *People's Daily World*. He is a teacher at the *People's Educational Center* and a sponsor of the *Citizens Committee to Aid the Locked-out Hearst Employees*. He participated in a mass rally at the Shrine Auditorium on December 10, 1946, sponsored by the Communist front, the *Southern California Committee to Win the Peace*.

Sam Moore, script writer for the radio program known as "The Great Gildersleeve," testified before the committee. He has served as an officer of the *Hollywood Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions*, is a member of the *Hollywood Writers' Mobilization* and was a member of the general committee in connection with the Communist inspired *Writers' Congress* held on the campus of the *University of California* at Los Angeles. He signed a telegram to the Chief of Police of Glendale expressing sympathy for Sorrell's motion picture strikers. He was a sponsor for affairs given by the *American Youth for Democracy*, the successor to the *Young Communist League*. He is connected with the newly formed Communist front organization, the *Citizens Committee to Support Labor's Right*, which is sponsored by the *Civil Rights Congress*, a Communist dominated organization of comparatively recent origin. Moore testified that he is intimately acquainted with John Howard Lawson and that he is a frequent visitor at his home.

The records of Dr. Franklin Fearing, Philip M. Connelly, Carey McWilliams, Dr. Harry Hoiyer, Kenneth MacGowan and Robert W. Kenny are set forth in this report, as well as in the committee's reports of 1943 and 1945, and need not be repeated here.

George Campbell, a member of the Los Angeles Musicians' Union, Local 47, has been active in Communist affairs for many years. He spearheaded a Communist inspired group in the *American Federation of Labor* in opposition to the State Federation in the *Los Angeles Labor Council* in the 1946 elections. Professionally frustrated he has turned his energies to vigorous activities in Communist front movements. He was a member of the Organization Committee for *Mobilization for Democracy*. He is a member of the *Hollywood Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions* and endorsed the *American Youth for Democracy* conference on "Jobs and Youth Security."

William Pomerance has long been connected with the *People's Educational Center* in Los Angeles. The *People's Daily World* for July 14, 1944 (page 3, columns 4-5), reports his protests against a resolution passed by the *Los Angeles Central Labor Council* (AFL), banning Communists from membership in the council. His protests are alleged to have been made in his capacity as the business agent for the *Screen Cartoonists Guild*. He is a member of the *Hollywood Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions* and the *Hollywood Writers' Mobilization*. In October of 1945 he was one of a delegation calling on the Mayor and the Sheriff of Los Angeles, protesting the use of Los Angeles police in Sorrell's studio strike. He was also one of the signers of a telegram sent to the Glendale Chief of Police, expressing sympathy for the arrested motion picture strikers in 1945.

H. S. Kraft (also known as Hi Kraft) was a sponsor of the *Hollywood Anti-Nazi League*. In 1939 he endorsed the lifting of the embargo on arms and munitions for the Communists engaged in a civil war in Spain. He participated in programs sponsored by *Mobilization for Democracy* at the *Los Angeles City College* August 26, 1945. He was active in the *Writers' Congress* at the *University of California at Los Angeles* in October of 1943. For additional information concerning the Communist activities of H. S. Kraft, attention is directed to the Reports of the Committee on Un-American Activities of the Congress of the United States, specifically Volume I, pages 375-376; Appendix I, page 809, and Appendix V, page 1652.

Seniel Ostrow was a member of the 1946 Los Angeles County Grand Jury. He was a member of the Executive Board of the *National Citizens Political Action Committee* in 1945, treasurer of the *Citizens Committee for Motion Picture Strikers* in 1945 and conducted a class in "Political Organization" at the *People's Educational Center* during the summer of 1946.

Charles Katz, left-wing Los Angeles attorney, is connected with the law firm of Gallagher, Katz & Margolis. He testified before the committee and stated that he had been admitted to the practice of law in 1927, after having been graduated from the *University of California* and the *University of Southern California*. He affiliated with Leo Gallagher's law firm early in 1943. He is a member of the *National Lawyers' Guild*, a former member of the *Hollywood Anti-Nazi League* and many other Communist front organizations. He is well acquainted with Herbert and

Edward Biberman, Samuel Ornitz, Donald Ogden Stewart, John Howard Lawson, George Andersen, Herbert Resner, Aubrey Grossman, William Schneiderman, La Rue McCormick, Carey McWilliams, Harry Bridges, Frank Tuttle and Stanley Lawrence. The Communist records of most of these people are scattered throughout the committee's reports.

Katz stated that he represented Communists from time to time in the course of his law practice. He taught in the *Communist Party Workers' School* in Los Angeles and in the *People's Educational Center*. He had been a member of the *Hollywood Democratic Committee* and had continued as a member of the *Hollywood Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions* which succeeded it. He subscribes to the *People's Daily World*. He was connected with the *Bridges Defense Committee* and the *Citizens Committee for the Defense of Mexican-American Youth*, a Communist front organization organized by Communist La Rue McCormick.

The firm of Gallagher, Katz & Margolis was employed by the *Hollywood Community Radio Group* to represent it in its application for a radio broadcasting license in December of 1946. Charles Katz appeared personally for the purpose of cross-examining Senator Jack B. Tenney, who had been subpoenaed to testify before the commission.

The record of Communist fellow-traveling activities of others connected with the *Hollywood Community Radio Group* follows:

Larry Adler: Member of the Executive Council of the *Hollywood Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions* (HICCASP). Signed a telegram addressed to the Glendale Chief of Police expressing sympathy with Sorrell's motion picture strikers arrested during the riots in Burbank.

Chauncey Alexander: International Representative of the Communist dominated *Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians* (FAECT).

Ray Stanton Avery: Sponsor of *American Youth for Democracy* (*Young Communist League*) in May, 1944. Member of the Board of Directors of the *People's Educational Center* (PEC), 1945. Sponsor of *American Youth for Democracy* celebration in December of 1945 at the Ambassador Hotel in Los Angeles.

George Beller: Instructor at the *People's Educational Center* in 1946.

Jack Berman: Listed on the letterhead of the *People's Daily World* as a sponsor of the Communist paper's \$75,000 fund drive in 1945. Again listed on the *People's Daily World* letterhead as sponsor of the paper's \$125,000 fund drive in 1946.

Vera Caspary: Speaker at the *Connecticut Writer's Conference* (*New Masses*, December 20, 1938, page 20). Member of the Advisory Board for *Frontier Films* (*Daily Worker*, April 6, 1937, page 9). Signed a petition to the Japanese Ambassador as a member of *International Labor Defense* (*Daily Worker*, March 19, 1938, page 2). One of the signers for the Call to the Fourth Congress of the *League of American Writers*, June 6-8, 1941, New York City (*New Masses*, April 22, 1941, page 25). Taught in the *Writers' School* of the *League of American Writers* (*Daily Worker*, February 2, 1938, page 7). Listed as an instructor in an evening course for the *League of American Writers* (*New*

Masses, February 8, 1938, page 2). One of the signers of a statement by American Progressives on the Moscow Trials (*Daily Worker*, April 28, 1938, page 4).

She was one of the signers of an Open Letter for Closer Cooperation with the Soviet Union (*Soviet Russia Today*, September 1939, O. 25). One of the signers of a petition addressed to the Japanese Government protesting the arrest of Japanese citizens (*Equal Justice*, March, 1938, page 1). The writer of a radio script for the *Women's Ambulance Defense Corps* (*People's World*, April 28, 1942, page 7). Assigned to write a series for the United States Office of War Information by the *Hollywood Writers' Mobilization* (*People's Daily World*, November 21, 1942, page 7). 1941 Sponsor for the *California Action Conference for Civil Rights*.

Mrs. Alice D. Cohee: Signed a resolution as the Secretary of the *East Bay Scottsboro Defense Council* recommending freedom of the Scottsboro boys (*Western Worker*, October 22, 1936). Subscriber to the *People's Daily World* at 1718 Maltman in the City of Los Angeles in 1939 and 1940. President of the CIO auxiliary in 1943 (*People's Daily World*, June 21, 1943). Wife of John Cohee, radio commentator.

Emil Corwin: One of the speakers on the second forum of the Communist "Counter-Attack" held at the El Patio Theater in the City of Los Angeles on December 16th. Secretary of the *California Committee for Radio Freedom*.

John Cromwell: Motion picture director. Participated in a meeting of the *Free World Association* in Hollywood in 1944. (*People's Daily World*, July 10, 1944, page 4, columns 1-2). Sponsor for the *Hollywood Anti-Nazi League* in 1939. Chairman, *Hollywood Democratic Committee* meeting in January of 1945. One of the signers of a telegram urging dismissal of charges against Harry Bridges (*Labor Herald*, January 26, 1945, page 1, column 4). Elected Chairman of HICCASP in June of 1945. Member of the committee for a *Mobilization for Democracy* conference held at City College August 26, 1945 (*People's Daily World*, August 14, 1945, page 4, column 1). Signed telegram to Chief of Police of Glendale expressing sympathy for Sorrell's arrested strikers. One of the sponsors for the *American Youth for Democracy* celebration December 16, 1945 (*People's Daily World*, page 3, column 5). Was one of the speakers at a reception given K. Siminov, a visiting Soviet writer of the film "Days and Nights" (*People's Daily World*, June 4, 1946, page 5, column 7).

John Garfield: Screen actor at Warner Brothers. Sent greetings to the American-Soviet Friendship Rally (*Daily Worker*, November 21, 1944, page 11). One of the signers in an appeal to lift the embargo on the shipment of arms and munitions to the Communist group in Spain (*Daily Worker*, February 9, 1939, page 7). Member of the *Citizens Committee to End Discrimination in Baseball* (*Daily Worker*, October 14, 1942, page 6). Speaker at the *Conference of American-Soviet Friendship* (*Soviet Russia Today*, January, 1943, page 150). Signer of an appeal of the *Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy* (*Daily Worker*, January 30, 1939, page 2). Issued a statement in support of the U.S.S.R. in *Soviet Russia Today* in November, 1941, page 35. Was active in the *Theater Arts Committee*, New York, which attempted to sabotage American aid to Finland. Member of the *Citizens Committee for the Motion Picture Strikers* and

one of the signers of a telegram to the Chief of Police of Glendale expressing sympathy for Sorrell's strikers. One of the sponsors for an art auction in behalf of Sorrell's strikers (*People's Daily World*, October 17, 1945, page 5, column 7). With his wife and Charlie Chaplin he was among the guests aboard a Russian tanker off of Long Beach at a party given for Konstantin Simonov, Soviet writer, (May, 1946). In 1938 he participated in a Hollywood circus in behalf of Spain (*People's Daily World*, October 29, 1938). In November of 1938 he was the chairman for a meeting of the *American Friends of Chinese People* (*People's Daily World*, November 8, 1938). In 1944 he was a member of the Executive Board of the *Hollywood Democratic Committee*. In 1945 he was a co-producer with J. Edward Bromberg of a show for *Actor's Laboratory* (*Hollywood Variety*, page 4, column 1). Met with other screen stars at the Mocambo Cafe in Hollywood on behalf of the Zoot-Suiters (*People's Daily World*, December 11, 1943, page 3, column 7-8).

Leon Goldberg: Listed in *Second Decade of Progress*, Communist yearbook, as a member of the Communist Party Brooklyn Branch with his residence given as 2541 Houston in Los Angeles. Registered as a Communist in 1936 and gave his address as 2111½ Aaron Street in Los Angeles. Reregistered as a Communist in Los Angeles County in 1941 from 4247 Woolwine Avenue, Los Angeles. Subscriber to the *People's Daily World*.

Albert Hackett: Member of the permanent panel discussion group of the *People's Educational Center* in September of 1945. Member of "Nature of the Enemy" panel of the 1943 *Writers' Congress*. One of the signers in an appeal to lift the embargo on the shipment of arms and munitions to the Communist element in Spain (*Daily Worker*, February 9, 1939, page 7). One of the sponsors for the *Artists' Front to Win the War*. One of the signers of the statement addressed to President Roosevelt defending the *Communist Party* (*Daily Worker*, March 5, 1941, page 2).

Paul Henreid: Actor. Member of the *Hollywood Committee to Aid Spanish Refugees in France* (*People's Daily World*, November 20, 1945, page 5, column 3). Member of the Executive Council of HICCASP in 1946.

Paul Jarrico: Sponsor of the *California Action Conference for Civil Rights*, 1941. Member of the Board of Directors of the *League of American Writers* (*People's Daily World*, January 21, 1941).

Peter M. Kahn: Vice Chairman of the *Citizens Committee for the Motion Picture Strikers* (*People's Daily World*, October 8, 1945, page 3, column 7). Sponsor of *American Youth for Democracy* celebration (*People's Daily World*, December 7, 1945, page 3, column 5).

Howard Koch: Officer of HICCASP, 1945. Member of *Hollywood Writers' Mobilization*. Member of the General Committee of the 1943 *Writers' Congress*. Signer of a telegram to Chief of Police of Glendale expressing sympathy for Sorrell's arrested strikers. On the program of the *Conference on American-Russian Cultural Exchange* held at the *University of California* at Los Angeles in December, 1945. One of the announced speakers for the *Hollywood Writers' Mobilization* forums commencing in December of 1946.

Dr. Linus Pauling: Chairman of "Freedom Rally" sponsored by HICCASP (*People's Daily World*, January 12, 1946, page 3, column 6). Member of the Executive Council of HICCASP, 1946.

Robert Shaw: Research Director for the *Hollywood Writers' Mobilization* in 1945. Salary established at \$5,200 per annum, 1945 and 1946 Community Chest fund.

LAW FIRM OF GALLAGHER, KATZ AND MARGOLIS

The *American Federation of Labor* has always been on guard against the Communist menace. In California *American Federation of Labor* unions have become vigorously active in recent years in fighting and exposing Communist machinations within the ranks of American labor. Because of Charles Katz' activity in the *Hollywood Community Radio Group* the committee was interested in learning the attitude of the *Los Angeles Labor Council* concerning the firm of Gallagher, Katz, and Margolis, Southern California alleged labor attorneys. W. J. Bassett's testimony in this regard is of importance:

Q. (By Mr. Combs): Do you know Mr. Herbert Sorrell?

A. Yes, I do.

Q. How long have you known him?

A. About six years.

Q. Is he a member of an A. F. of L. union?

A. He is a member of the Motion Picture Painters No. 644.

Q. And what law firm represents that local, if you know?

A. They have several law firms. Pestana has been representing them. However, during the motion picture strike, I think, at various times Gallagher & Margolis represented them.

Q. Has the *Central Labor Council* taken any official attitude or position toward that firm?

A. They adopted a resolution condemning the law firm of Gallagher & Margolis, yes.

Q. Why was such a resolution adopted, if you know?

A. Because of their sympathy to the Communist Party and because they have repeatedly defended the CIO in attempts to raid the A. F. of L. membership, and by trickery, to switch A. F. of L. unions into the CIO through the NLRB.

Q. Why do you say that the firm is sympathetic toward Communism?

A. Well, it has been, or we have observed, rather, that organizations we consider Communist fronts, or Communist organizations, are always defended by them. They appear at every left-wing meeting publicly and speak before various groups. Their general activities have indicated that to us.

PRESSURE

The *Hollywood Community Radio Group* resorted to every known pressure trick in order to impress the *Federal Communications Commission* in its application for a radio broadcasting station in Los Angeles County. Offers of free radio time to various officials in return for endorsements were reported. The situation was recognized by the *Los Angeles City Council* in the adoption of a resolution presented by Councilman

Ed. J. Davenport. The resolution was adopted with but one dissenting vote, that of Councilman John R. Roden. The resolution is as follows:

WHEREAS, The Hollywood Community Radio Group, Inc., in letters signed by Alvin Wilder, has been soliciting the official support of various councilmen for an application to the Federal Communications Commission for a radio broadcasting station license; and

WHEREAS, Response to this solicitation by one, or several, councilmen appearing on official council stationery, bearing the seal of the City of Los Angeles, might easily give the impression to the Federal Communications Commission that such support and endorsement of the Hollywood Community Radio Group application expressed the unanimous, or official, sentiment of the City Council; now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That this legislative body goes on record as stating that any support, or endorsement, of the Hollywood Community Radio Group, Inc., application for an FFC license, which might be given by any member of the city council, should be regarded as expressing only the personal views of said member, and not necessarily those of the entire council membership.

Senator Jack B. Tenney was subpoenaed before the Federal Communications Commission and testified. Under cross-examination by Attorney Charles Katz, Senator Tenney was able to get most of the information contained in this section of the report into the commission's stenographic record.

An editorial from the *Hollywood Citizen News* for Saturday, December 21, 1946, succinctly summarizes the broad objections of the people of Los Angeles County against the establishment of a camouflaged Communist radio broadcasting station. The editorial is as follows:

The Federal Communications Commission was told this week that if it would grant a license for a radio broadcasting station to a group of Hollywood leftists, communists would be given a chance to air their views on the program but that their talks would be followed by answers by "American democrats."

It isn't likely that the Federal Communications Commission will be influenced by the promise of "American democrats," to follow talks by communists.

The Federal Communications Commission will recognize that there are communists among the stockholders of the corporation asking for the radio license, that there are others who are communist-fronters, and that the chances of such a group agreeing upon "American democrats" to defend this country against the attacks of the friends of Russia are too meagre to receive consideration.

We cannot see where it makes any difference whether the Russian program is presented by people who admit that they are members of the Communist Party or by those false-fronters who, while denying that they are communists, argue for exactly the same program as that argued for by members of the Communist Party.

Students who read literature issued in the name of the American Communist Party can note no difference between what is thus advocated and what the communist-fronters are advocating.

If there were plenty of available radio channels we would have no objection to the communists being permitted to have one, provided it were operated as a station of the communists. The public generally has the right to complain, however, against the spreading of communist propaganda by persons who deny that they are communists. Such persons are the real menace to this country.

AVERILL BERMAN

Averill Berman is another Los Angeles left-wing radio commentator who follows the Communist Party line assiduously. His "class-consciousness" is so heavy upon his shoulders that, when he is not rabble-rousing so-called "minority groups" he is engaged in picketing activities in Hollywood.

He may be said to be a "smart" young man of the extreme "smart-aleck" variety. He has an excellent speaking voice and a considerable command of English. His patent straining for an appearance of erudition sometimes leads him into trouble. His pedagogic harangue with the committee's counsel over the meaning of the word "esoteric" is illustrative. His efforts at logic are equally disastrous.

Berman appeared before the committee in its Los Angeles hearing in October of 1946. His testimony, in part, is as follows:

Q. (By Mr. Combs): Mr. Berman, what is your business or occupation?

A. I am a radio commentator.

Q. Who is your sponsor?

A. My sponsor at the moment is the *Western Council for Progressive Business, Labor and Agriculture*.

* * * * *

Q. Mr. Berman, I believe the last question I asked you before you left the stand was, when was it that you acted as a commentator on the radio for the CIO?

A. I was sponsored by the CIO. I think that distinction should be made.

Q. Yes.

A. I was sponsored by the CIO in September, October, and November of last year.

* * * * *

Q. Mr. Berman, are you a member of the union?

A. *The American Federation of Radio Artists*.

Q. That is under the A. F. of L. or CIO?

A. The A. F. of L.

Q. Is that union engaged in picketing at the present time?

A. No, that union is not engaged in picketing at the present time.

Q. Are any members of it, to your knowledge?

A. Not to my knowledge.

Q. Were you on the picket line yourself, Mr. Berman, during the first strike or the one now in progress?

A. Yes.

* * * * *

Q. Were you on the picket line yourself in either one of the strikes?

A. Yes.

Q. Which one?

A. Both.

Q. What did you do? Did you engage in picketing or were you there as a commentator or did you make any statements over the air or over a microphone?

A. Yes, I did.

Q. At whose request did you do that?

A. On my own volition.

* * * * *

Q. When were you last out there engaging in that sort of activity?

A. Yesterday morning.

Q. Were you a part of the regular picket line? Strike that. At which studio?

A. At Columbia Studios.

Q. Were you a part of the regular picket line there or in the crowd that assembled nearby?

A. No. I was more or less a guest picket.

Q. Sort of a guest picket?

A. That is right.

* * * * *

Q. You know there was an injunction in effect regarding picketing?

A. I heard there was a temporary restraining order; an order which I understand can be procured for the price of \$10, and it is given without a hearing, an ex parte court order without a hearing; without an opportunity for both sides to be presented. I understand that type of restraining order is a legalistic device for breaking strikes and that it violates the Constitution and the right of freedom of assembly.

Q. You are speaking of the current strike?

A. The current strike.

* * * * *

Q. You were a commentator over KLAC, were you not, for a time?

A. That is correct.

Q. What caused the termination of your relations with that station?

A. As far as I know, cancellation of the program was due to replacement which was made during the war period.

Q. Was there any criticism of your conduct in broadcasting or your opinions that you expressed over the air while you were employed by that station?

A. The station merely told me that they were exercising their prerogative to replace one program with another.

Q. Are you a member of the *American Veterans Committee*?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. When did you affiliate with that organization?

A. About November of last year.

Q. Have you spoken for them?

A. Many, many times.

Q. Are you a member of the *National Citizens Political Action Committee*?

A. Yes, I am.

Q. You have been a member of that organization about how long?

A. A few months.

Q. You have spoken for them, have you?

A. Yes, sir, I have.

Q. Do you speak for them now from time to time?

A. Yes, I speak for many organizations.

Q. You are a member of the executive council of the *Hollywood Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions*, aren't you?

A. Yes. I was elected to that office.

Q. When was that?

A. About two months ago.

Q. You hold that office now, do you not?

A. Yes, I do.

* * * * *

Q. You are a member of the board of directors of the organization which is now attempting to get a permit for a radio station, are you not, the one headed by Alvin Wilder?

A. I really don't know. I may be. I put my signature to so many things these days it is sometimes hard to recall all of them.

Q. You are not sure whether you are connected with that organization or not?

A. No, I am not sure.

* * * * *

Q. Did you ever make a statement regarding the justification of the Yugoslav Government in their actions in shooting down American planes?

A. It would depend on how that might be construed. I felt it was necessary to minimize any hostility in connection with the incident; to point out that, as regrettable as the incident was, there was a principle involved here as far as violation of the sovereignty of a nation was concerned.

Q. Meaning Yugoslavia?

A. Meaning Yugoslavia. And that in order to avert hostility which might have been the way toward war we must see the incident in the light of its perspective. That was the essence of the remarks I made.

Q. When and where did you make such remarks?

A. On a radio broadcast.

Q. How long ago?

A. About three or four weeks ago. In that neighborhood.

* * * * *

Q. (By Senator Tenney): Do you think it would be possible to get a fair trial for an anti-Communist in Tito's (Yugoslav) government?

A. For an anti-Communist in Tito's government?

Q. Yes.

A. That is a hard question for me to answer.

Q. I don't know whether this question has been asked or not. The *People's World* call it the "\$64 question." Are you a member of the Communist Party?

A. No, sir.

Q. Do you have any sympathy with the Communist Party?

A. What do you mean by "Sympathy with the Communist Party"?

Q. We have many letters before this committee from citizens here who contend that you in your broadcasts never deviate from the Communist Party line. So far as I have been able to discover, you do not.

A. What is the Communist Party line?

Q. Suppose you tell me.

* * * * *

Q. (By Senator Tenney): The question is: Do you sympathize with the Communist Party aims and policies?

A. If you are speaking of the aims and policies of the Communist Party here, I will answer whether or not I sympathize with those aims.

Q. You know what I am talking about and I think you are evasive. You must have some sympathy for the Communist Party and its aims and policies. If you haven't, tell us.

A. I should like to have it clear in my mind as to what the aims and policies of the Communist Party are. This legislative committee which has amassed tons of evidence in order to determine what these aims are; this is an excellent idea for me to become clarified as to what the aims and policies are of the Communist Party.

Q. We have many people come before this committee—very intelligent people who read the newspapers—and when they have no sympathy for the Communist Party or its aims and policies they readily say so. Why is it that every person, such as yourself; people who are certainly following the Communist Party line—who do not deviate from it in any sense—why is it that you won't defend it for yourself? You are a radio commentator.

A. In the first place you say I don't deviate from the Communist Party line. You have failed during this whole period to indicate what the Communist Party line is in order to ask whether or not I deviate. After all, the process of deviation from a line of so-called aims involves a comparison between two aims, and therefore it must be necessary for you to know what the line is before you can say whether or not I deviate from that line.

* * * * *

Q. (By Senator Tenney): Do you believe in the policy of the United States Government as enunciated by Secretary of State Byrnes at the Paris Peace Conference?

A. By Mr. Byrnes?

Q. Yes.

A. No, I do not.

* * * * *

Q. (By Senator Tenney): We are not dignifying the Communists. We hope we are exposing them. I don't believe you when you say you are not a Communist.

But the fact is you are using the guarantee of free speech and liberty for the purpose of destroying this country.

A. That is unfair; an unfair statement.

Q. You don't think the Communists would let you do that, do you?

A. You are saying two things. You say that I am doing that and when I say that I resent that you argue that the Communists would not permit me to do that. I simply say that I am working for the ideals of America as I understand them; the ideas of Jefferson, Washington, Monroe, Jackson, Roosevelt. I am working for a system which will give the common man his greatest opportunity for self-expression; I am working also for the cause of peace and justice. That is my notion of Americanism.

Q. That is what the Communists say.

A. Because a horse has legs and a cow has legs, does that make a horse a cow? I know a cow produces milk and a horse delivers it. If you try to get milk out of a horse you will find yourself in a peculiar situation.

Mr. Combs: If you try to get milk out of a horse and not out of a mare, you would be embarrassed.

* * * * *

Q. (By Mr. Combs): Let's get down from the general to the specific, Mr. Berman, and I will be through. You know, of course, about an organization known as the *American Youth for Democracy*, don't you?

A. I know of the organization.

Q. Yes. Did you ever have anything to do with it?

A. I have spoken at meetings of the *American Youth for Democracy*, yes.

Q. Did you ever sponsor it?

A. I may have in time past.

Q. Did you in July, 1946, attend a party for Yugoslav relief?

A. Yes, I did.

Q. Where was that held?

A. I don't recall the place. At a private home.

Q. On or about that time?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you ever act as chairman of a meeting of the *United Office and Professional Workers of America*; that also is alleged to have happened in July, 1946.

A. Yes.

Q. Where was that held?

A. I don't recall the meeting place.

Q. Are you a member of that union?

A. No.

Q. How did it happen that you were the chairman of the meeting?

A. I was sympathetic.

* * * * *

Q. (By Mr. Combs): Did you personally experience any clash with the legally constituted authorities in connection with the 1945 strike; were you arrested?

A. Yes, I was.

Q. Were you charged with an offense?

A. I may have been. It never came up as far as any trial was concerned.

Q. About when was that?

A. October 1945.

Berman has been active in behalf of five or six hundred of Sorrell's pickets who were arrested for various offenses during the rioting in the Hollywood motion picture strike. In the issue of December 20, 1946, the *Hollywood Citizen News* editorializes some of Berman's activities and rather shrewdly summarizes his Communist orientation. The editorial, in part, is as follows:

Speaking before a group of union labor representatives and Communists that had assembled to lay plans in an effort to stop the issuance of court injunctions against mass picketing and to stop the prosecution of those who had been arrested on motion picture studio picket lines for violation of a court injunction, Averill Berman, radio commentator, and one of those under indictment for con-

spiracy to violate the court injunction against mass picketing, declared:

"I have talked with many of those on trial and I know that if they are denied their democratic rights they will lose faith in Democracy and favor another system."

Any other system of government than Democracy to which people may turn these days is a dictatorship.

Since the elimination of Hitler and Mussolini, Stalin is the most outstanding representative of dictatorship.

Communists refer to Stalin's dictatorship as Democracy. Communists have to do a great deal of lying in order to defend their position. Their reference to the Stalin dictatorship as Democracy is typical of their attempts to deceive.

THE INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF ARCHITECTS, ENGINEERS, CHEMISTS AND TECHNICIANS, CIO

Realizing that the American people have been given little information concerning the extent and nature of Communist espionage in this country, and bearing in mind that California enjoys the dubious distinction of being the number two state so far as Communist activities in general are concerned, the committee presents herewith a report by its counsel, R. E. Combs, based on more than a year of investigation of the above-named organization, and particularly its Chapter 25 in the East Bay area.

BACKGROUND OF FAECT

The organization developed from a recreational center in Monroe County, New York, known as Camp Wocolona, which was organized by a Marcel Scherer in 1928. Ostensibly its purpose was to provide a meeting place for professional men and federal employees. Among the other recreational facilities offered by Camp Wocolona was the study of Marxism, since all members were required to subscribe to the Communist publications, *Morning Freiheit* and the *Daily Worker*. The camp was succeeded in 1929 by the *Union of Technical Men*, organized under the astute guidance of Marcel Scherer with the aid of such experienced Marxists as Carl Winter, who was later to serve as Secretary of the *Communist Party of Los Angeles County*. This front in 1933 became the *International Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians* commonly referred to as FAECT.

Marcel Scherer was the founder of the front and his personal history is therefore of interest—especially because he is now its international organizer. From a report of the *Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities*, from which much of this background material is taken, we learn that Scherer affiliated with the *Young People's Socialist League* when he was a student at the *Erasmus High School* in New York, and was expelled from that institution because of his pacifist activities during the first World War. He thereafter affiliated with the Communist Party and in 1931 was candidate for the office of Alderman from the Thirty-seventh Aldermanic District in Brooklyn, New York, on the Communist Party ticket. Mrs. Marcel Scherer, more familiarly known in party circles as Lena Davis, is also an enthusiastic Marxist, having served as State Secretary of the *Communist Party of New Jersey*. (*Daily Worker*, July 30, 1936; April 19, 1939.)

Lewis Alan Berne has been president of FAECT since 1937. He is an architect by profession and a Marxist by avocation. He has categorically denied that he ever formally joined the Communist Party, and experts on such matters would quite probably agree that no such formal affiliation exists. He is, however, constantly surrounded and assisted by known party members; he has meticulously clung to the

party line, and has been connected with the following organizations noted for their pro-Soviet and pro-Communist tendencies: *National Federation for Constitutional Liberties*; *American League for Peace and Democracy*; *American Peace Mobilization*; *American Congress to Free Earl Browder*; *American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom*; *Refugee Scholarship and Peace Committee*; *Emergency Committee to Aid Spain*; *Emergency Trade Union Conference to Aid Spanish Democracy*; *Coordinating Committee to Lift the Spanish Embargo*; *Joint Committee for Trade Union Rights*; *Harry Bridges Defense Committee*; *American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born*; *American Labor Committee Against War*; *Committee for a Boycott Against Japanese Aggression*; *Committee to Defend America by Keeping Out of War* and the *American Council on Soviet Relations*.

There is considerable evidence to the effect that Berne is a *secret* member of the Communist Party. The point is inconsequential, however, since so many of the more important Marxists are not permitted to formally join the party for security reasons.

Scherer and Berne have always been, and still are, the leaders of FAECT. They formulate the policies, handle organizational matters and exercise general supervision over the chapters throughout the United States and Canada. Associated with them from time to time have been such veteran organizers and advisors as Nathan Sparer, named as a Communist in the *New York Times* for June 26, 1929; the late James Collins, former member of the *Young Communist League*, (Dies Committee Hearings, Volume 1, page 590); San Nesin, 1936 candidate from the Bronx to the New York Assembly on the Communist ticket, (*Daily Worker*, November 3, 1936, page 4); Jules Korchien, who was employed in the Soviet Union as a consulting architect, while his wife worked on the editorial staff of the *Moscow Daily News*, (Congressional Record, March 21, 1941, page A1399ff. Other persons of similar complexion contributed articles to *Technical America*, the FAECT national publication, and appeared at functions sponsored by the union. Included in this list of FAECT collaborators are Walter N. Polakov, Bernard J. Stern, William Feinberg, Catherine Bauer, Mervyn Rathbone, Leo Rogin, Robert W. Dunn, Robert Lynd and Dewey Palmer.

COMMUNIST CONTROL OF FAECT IN 1939

The question of Communist domination of FAECT has resulted in eruptions of internal dissension from time to time, but when the smoke of each internecine battle cleared away Messrs. Scherer and Berne emerged more firmly entrenched than before. Illustrative of such dissension are the letters written by former vice president of the front, Walter E. Johnson:

January 23d, 1939

"Mr. James A. Gaynor, International Secretary-Treasurer FAECT
116 East 16th Street, New York, N. Y.

DEAR SIR: Supplementing the letter written to (you) of January 15, 1939, I wish to elaborate on certain features set forth and make a clear and concise statement of certain facts which cannot be refuted.

"Innumerable letters were written to the National Office FAECT registering a complaint regarding quite a number of letters being written to certain people in the Detroit area who were in no way connected with the auto drive, who were not responsible for any part of the work and in some cases not even a member of any Labor Union, with the demand that a practice must cease. This finally culminated in a letter being written on or about August 27, 1938, making a very explicit demand that it must stop * * *. This letter of August 27, 1938, very explicitly asked 'Who the Hell is running the FAECT and determining the policy for them to follow; the duly elected and constituted officers and the General Executive Board of the FAECT or the Communist Party * * *.'

"I have in my possession, or rather did have, certain letters written by BAUM, KORNACKER and SCHERER. Letter written 4-6-38 to Bill Feinberg, one written 7-1-38 to John and Bill (John Leutchman and Bill Feinberg) by Scherer, which had written notation in the upper left-hand corner, 'Please take up with Billy Allen,' one written by Kornacker to Baum dated 5-25-38. Letter written by Scherer to Bill Feinberg dated 6-28-38, which had enclosed a copy of a letter written to me on 6-28-38 and in which the last paragraph asks for a letter to be destroyed after showing it to Billy Allen; a letter dated 7-12-38, air mail special delivery to 'Billy Allen' from Scherer, in which it seems the Communist Party must give its sanction before the FAECT dare do anything, even make its own decisions. This was also shown in the letter dated 7-1-38 under heading (1) 'We do not want to take in the foremen unless approval for such a policy would be given by the party district leadership.' Neither the CIO's or the FAECT's Executive Board seems to count for or formulate the policy for the FAECT to follow, but the approval of the Communist Party must be obtained. * * *

"This 'Billy Allen' mentioned and to whom the letters were written is a paid Party Functionary of the Detroit Communist Party and is not a member of any Labor Union. * * *

"Yours truly,

"WALTER E. JOHNSON."

"Mr. Stuart Green
"2944 Princeton Ave.,
"Minneapolis, Minn.

July 8, 1939

"Dear Stew: * * * Some of my very good friends are Jews and Catholics, but when the Communistic part is brought in and is made the major issue, when you have your work sabotaged because that particular element cannot dictate every move to you, then I for one consider it is time to call a halt. When a man has certain things come into his possession which show without a shadow of a doubt that Berne, Scherer, Sentman, Cooper, Fisher, Jacoby, Baum, Kornacker and a number of others are members of this organization and are allowing them to dictate the policy that the FAECT was to pursue, then I say that it is time for something to be done. I have in my possession some 13 letters which

quite definitely prove that these persons mentioned are members of the party. These letters also show that Scherer was writing to the 'party district leadership in Detroit asking them to sanction certain things before the International Office FAECT would give me an answer on a question of policy which I had asked for * * *'. I supposed that I was to meet with the G. E. B. and thrash the whole affair out. You can imagine my surprise to have a meeting with only Berne, Scherer, Fisher, Jacoby, Kornacker, and to cap the climax, two members of the Communist Party were present and took quite a part in the discussion. They were Billy Geber of Detroit, who is some party functionary here, and the other was a Mr. Roy or Ray Hudson of New York and is connected with the Communist Party in New York * * * I questioned why they were there to discuss something which I considered strictly FAECT business, but that was sidetracked. After Berne was censured for his actions and all kinds of promises were made to cooperate with me in every way in the work I was carrying on here in Detroit and to keep hands off the Chicago matter unless they were requested to step in by the Chicago Executive Board, I agreed to withdraw my resignation * * *

"A little later I sensed an undercurrent and cross-currents in the work here * * * I kept a sharp lookout and I soon found wherein these things were coming from. Scherer was writing to quite a number of people in Detroit, asking for reports and asking for the Communist Party's sanction on some things I had requested the FAECT office to give me decisions on * * * All of this to Communist Party people who were not members of the FAECT or SDE or members of any labor union of any kind * * *

Yours truly,

WALTER E. JOHNSON

The Roy Hudson mentioned was and is one of the most powerful Communist leaders in America—specializing in maritime matters—and has held many high offices in the national organization. His presence at the meeting mentioned by Johnson above indicates that the relations between Scherer, Berne and the party were indeed intimate.

By 1939 FAECT was generally recognized by experts as a Communist-dominated union. It was branded as an out-and-out front-organization by Benjamin Stolberg in a *Saturday Evening Post* article in the issue for September 2, 1939. On June 30, 1940, an editorial to the same general effect appeared in the *New York World Telegram*. An article along the same lines was published in the *New Leader* on June 26, 1943. This committee made a similar finding, and said so on pages 134-135 of its 1943 Report to the Legislature.

FAECT CHAPTERS IN CALIFORNIA

During the summer of 1939 Paul Pinsky and Borice Z. Borace, concerning whose Communist membership considerable sworn testimony is available, organized FAECT chapters in San Francisco, Emeryville and Martinez. Thereafter Borace apparently dropped out of

FAECT activities, but Pinsky, now Research Director for the California CIO, continued in charge of the organization's activities in this State.

Until 1943 the chapter in Alameda County assumed no particular importance. It grew slowly, followed the Communist Party line dutifully, fostered meetings, forums and discussion groups and participated in social functions. This Chapter, Number 25, was originally organized at the Emeryville plant of the *Shell Development Company*, but soon extended its jurisdiction to include the metropolitan areas of Oakland and Berkeley.

ATOMIC RESEARCH

It was in 1943 that atomic scientists from Free France, Great Britain and the United States met in Canada to formulate plans for large scale atomic research.

A huge supply of uranium had been discovered in Ottawa province. From intelligence sources it had been learned that the Germans were experimenting with so-called "heavy water" with a view to splitting the atom and developing an atomic weapon. The Allies were determined to win the scientific race. The project was, of course, shrouded in deepest secrecy. Despite extensive technical installations, the concentration of thousands of scientific personnel and the expenditure of vast sums of money, the American public had no idea that there was any such research work in progress until President Truman dramatically announced that the first atomic bomb had been dropped above Hiroshima on August 6, 1945. Two days later the second bomb was exploded over Nagasaki. Six days thereafter Japan surrendered.

It was natural that much of the important work in the field of atomic research should be concentrated around the radiation laboratories at the *University of California* in Berkeley—"the Hill," as it was popularly termed. Dr. Lawrence had created the first Cyclotron there. Some of his colleagues were the most able physicists in the world. Within a few months after the first plans were perfected, the Berkeley laboratories on "the Hill" were teeming with scientific action. Speed was of the essence. We were actually pitting our skill and resources against the Germans in a race we could not afford to lose. Secrecy was important, of course, but at that time speed was still the paramount consideration, and it was necessary to put every capable physicist and chemist to work on the project. Political beliefs of these experts were of little significance unless they were out and out subversive. A really careful screening of all the scientific personnel would have required months of precious time, and we were in no position to waste time. Many of the scientists were drawn from the membership of FAECT Chapter 25 when the project was given the green light in 1943.

From this point on the chapter assumed a special significance.

CHARACTER OF CHAPTER 25

By 1943 FAECT had been well established as a Communist front organization. From undercover agents, informants and other sources committee investigators managed to obtain a complete file of all Chapter 25 publications, and these were carefully analyzed by experts to

ascertain whether the chapter had followed the Communist Party line through its winding and inconsistent courses.

In properly evaluating the material set forth below, the layman may have some difficulty unless he bears in mind that the Non-Aggression Pact between the Soviet Union and Germany became effective on August 23, 1939, and that Russia was invaded by Germany without warning on June 22, 1941. Between those two important dates the Communists throughout the world were instructed to undermine and weaken the democratic nations and keep them out of the war; to crusade against preparedness and conscription, foment strikes in key defense industries, term the war an "imperialist" struggle and oppose shipments to the belligerent nations. In complete conformity with this line, the American Communists called Roosevelt a "war-monger," coined the phrase "*The Yanks Are Not Coming*," opposed conscription, ridiculed the President's defense program and accused the National Administration, the Department of Justice and the capitalists of conspiring to plunge the country into war.

In the light of the foregoing explanation (by way of background), the evaluation of the material published by Chapter 25 assumes added significance. It is especially important to understand that after the invasion of the Soviet Union in June, 1941, Russia needed all the troops, matériel and aid she could get, and the entire Communist Party line was for that reason forced to reverse itself. Note, also, how much emphasis is placed on international and political affairs, how the class struggle is adroitly highlighted at every opportunity, and how comparatively little space, during this period, is devoted to strictly union matters.

On November 15, 1939, the *Bulletin* of Chapter 25 stated:

"A War Boom! But Not for You.

"To the industrialists, our entrance into the war is also in the planning stage. Already surveys of plants have been made and many plants have received sealed orders to be opened the moment war is declared. This is the beginning of the business dictatorship that always overcomes a democratic country in time of war. Such a dictatorship always works to safeguard profits and to suppress the civil liberties of labor.

"Organized American Labor Will Not Tolerate Another European Military Adventure.

"The aims of the FAECT: (1) Through the CIO to restrict and control the forces that would bring us into war."

On December 16, 1939, the *Bulletin* stated:

"The New War Spreads, But *Not* to America.

"The Yanks Are Not Coming."

On February 15, 1940, the *Bulletin* stated:

"* * * the armaments and peace talk of President Roosevelt, much of the work of the Department of Justice and most of the work of the Dies and Smith Committees are part of an organized plan to sabotage progressive legislation, to discredit labor and to increase profits at the expense of all labor—chemists and technicians included."

On March 15, 1940, the *Bulletin* stated:

"The foreign policy of the Roosevelt administration and that of the Wilson administration in 1916-1917 are so strikingly similar that apprehension is well justified."

On April 15, 1940, the *Bulletin* stated:

"* * * as an active body in the engineering and research fields, we have a duty to spread the danger signal in every drafting room on every construction job, in every laboratory and in all the technical schools. Through the medium of leaflets, conventions and circulars, wherever the technical man gathers, there must sound the alarm: 'American peace is in danger—American men and women must stand united so that they will not fall into war.'"

On June 15, 1940, the *Bulletin* stated:

"The war hysteria and suppression of civil liberties accompanying the increase of armaments are evidence of the strenuous attempts now being made to involve us in World War II.

"The hysterical speeches of the President of May 16th and June 10th, in which he attempted to frighten the people with tales of 'danger to our shores,' 'the possibility of air invasion,' and 'a helpless nightmare of a people handcuffed and hungry and fed through the bars from day to day by the contemptuous inhabitants of another country,' appears to be nothing more than an attempt to frighten the Nation into a panic of fear, as the preliminary psychological condition for entrance into war."

The following statements were made *after* the Germans invaded the Soviet Union. As the Communist Party line switched, so did the policy of Chapter 25.

On September 15, 1941, the *Bulletin* stated:

"Support the countries now actively fighting Hitlerism."

On September 15, 1944, the *Bulletin* stated:

"Labor recalls Roosevelt's fight for military preparation to face the international emergency before December 7, 1941."

On April 19, 1945, the *Bulletin* stated:

"Last Thursday America and the world lost a man famed for his greatness, goodness and essential humanity. In Franklin Roosevelt we lost a man who will go down in history as a man who stood head and shoulders above the men of his time, a man who successfully led his Nation through its most perilous war and became one of the world's greatest organizers for world peace. The death of our late President may be likened to a battle lost in the fight for a happier, more prosperous America in a secure, peaceful world. But, as another great world citizen, Winston Churchill, said after Dunkirk, 'We have lost a battle but not the war.'"

Thus from its own publications Chapter 25 of the FAECT was plainly following every turn and curve of the Communist line, along with the other Communist-dominated unions and front organizations throughout the country.

ROSE SEGURE

It now became necessary for the committee investigators to attempt the delicate and difficult procedure of infiltrating the chapter to ascertain whether, after 1943, there had been any plan evolved by its officers whereby members of the chapter could be placed in strategic positions throughout the atomic research project.

In this connection it was learned that coincidentally with the development of events in 1943, Marcel Scherer made a trip to California and spent 18 months assisting Chapter 25 with its problems. By the time the founding father and international organizer was ready to depart for the east, arrangements had been completed to turn his duties over to Rose Segure, well-known California Marxist.

Sworn statements of Rose Segure's Communist affiliation are in the possession of the committee. The announcements of Scherer's departure and Miss Segure's arrival appeared in the May-June issue of *The Facts Speak*, another Chapter 25 publication:

"Marcel Scherer, who has been actively associated with Chapter 25 for the past 18 months or so, left the Bay area recently to take up new responsibilities in the East. It is with regret that the officers and members of the FAECT in this area saw him go.

"The membership of Chapter 25 has nearly doubled in the past period. The resulting multiplication of negotiations for recognition and collective bargaining contracts have placed a heavy burden upon Scherer, and his contribution toward building the FAECT here is greatly appreciated. His reputation for successful negotiation of contracts is well known to the chapter here, as well as to the various representatives of management in this area.

"With many contracts and organizational achievements established by Scherer, the chapter is confident that it will go forward in its present drive to again double its membership in the coming months.

"Hats off to Scherer for a job well done!"

The announcement regarding Rose Segure, accompanied by her picture, appeared in the same issue (May-June, 1943), as follows:

"For the past several years Miss Segure has been field representative for the State Relief Administration of the Coast Counties of California; associate of Carey McWilliams in the Division of Immigration and Housing, Department of Industrial Relations; Legislative Representative for Social Service Guilds, and more recently, Regional Representative for the State, County and Municipal Workers of America, CIO, which brought her in constant contact with governmental agencies and gave her the well-rounded experience essential to carry on her present post as International Representative of the FAECT.

"In the short period Miss Segure has been with FAECT on the coast, she has already ploughed into the work of organizing, and a meeting with management at our newest place, General Engineering, has already been arranged. In addition a special drive at Los Altos will take International Representative Segure there to conduct a special drive among the technical and office workers in that area."

Miss Segure must have ploughed into her new work without delay, because the same issue of *The Facts Speak* proclaimed that:

"A sizable number of scientific and technical employees at the University of California have joined the FAECT. The membership is now setting up a regular local organization and electing officers."

In the September, 1943, issue of *The Facts Speak* it was announced that President Berne was making an inspection tour in California.

"Lewis Alan Berne, International President of the Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians, CIO, (FAECT), is now in the Bay Area, beginning an organizational tour. Berne arrived here just after completing a tour of the Atlantic Seaboard and the Middle West, where FAECT organization of technical and scientific workers is reaching unprecedented highs."

SOVIET FIRSTERS

Contemporaneously with discussions of international affairs, internal politics and following the party line, Chapter 25 publications also suggested to its members that they attend certain affairs where speakers would address them on matters of current interest. Prominent on this list of speakers were Catherine Bauer, Mervyn Rathborne, Leo Huberman and Leo Turner—all of whom, according to the information in the files of the committee, could be relied upon to abstain from saying anything detrimental about the Soviet Union, Marxism, Lenin, Stalin, Communism and each other.

The *Bulletin* for May 15, 1940, urged the FAECT members to hear Catherine Bauer, who was then a member of the faculty of the *University of California at Berkeley* and special advisor to the *United States Housing Authority*. Her activities are manifold, but pretty much in a pattern. In 1934 she sponsored the *California Youth Legislature*; in 1935 she was a member of the *League for Women Shoppers* (which sounds like an innocent enough organization of ladies, but see the committee's 1943 report); in 1937 she was a member of the *Frontier Films Advisory Board*; in 1939 she was a member of the *American League for Peace and Democracy*; in 1940 she was a member of the Advisory Board of the *FAECT Technical School*; during the same year she signed a letter circulated by the *Civil Rights Council of Northern California* asking that the Communist Party and other minority groups be given a place on the ballot; in 1942 she served as a member of the Advisory Board of the *Bay Area Council Against Discrimination*; in 1944 she was a member of the *National Citizens Political Action Committee*, and she once served with Paul Pinsky—the organizer of Chapter 25—on the *California Housing and Planning Commission* under the direction of screen-actor Melvyn Douglas and California's prolific Communist-fronter, Carey McWilliams.

On April 30, 1941, *The Facts Speak* recommended a speech by Mervyn Rathborne. He was once President of the *American Communications Association*, and for a brief time resisted the efforts of Communists to penetrate his union. He resigned to become the secretary of Harry Bridges' San Francisco *CIO Industrial Council*. His place as President of the *American Communications Association*—strategic nerve center, and a natural target for Communist infiltration—was taken over by Joseph Selly. Rathborne has been a member of the National Council of the *American Peace Mobilization*, a member of the Advisory Committee of the *Bay Area Council Against Discrimination*, Secretary of the *California CIO Council* and has been closely associated with many known Communist Party functionaries and members. In 1945 he was secretary of the state CIO organization and also served as a member of the Finance Committee of the *California Labor School*.

On September 12, 1945, Rathborne, Phillip M. Connelly and Ellenore Abowitz met with Morgan Hull, recently deceased, at Mrs. Abowitz's home. The nature of this meeting is significant when it is known that Hull was at the time Labor Director for the *Communist Party of Los Angeles County*. Connelly was secretary of the Los Angeles CIO Council, and Rathborne was state CIO Council secretary. Mrs. Abowitz was the Political Director for the *Hollywood Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions*.

Rathborne's affiliation with Communist front organizations follows the now familiar pattern. When the party line shifted, so did he, dropping out of one organization and popping up in another with the same people at the same time with monotonous regularity. The complete list of such organizations is quite impressive. Some of them are: the *American Relief Ship to Spain*; *Citizen's Committee to Free Earl Browder*; *Consumer's National Federation*; *Coordinating Committee to Lift the Spanish Embargo*; *Council on Pan-American Democracy*; *Congress of Mexican and Spanish-American Peoples in the United States*; *Committee for the Support of S. W. Gerson*; *Joint Committee for Trade Union Rights*; *National Emergency Conference*; *Progressive Committee to Rebuild the American Labor Party*; *Committee Honoring Georgi Dimitrov*; *Committee Protesting Attacks Against the Abraham Lincoln Battalion*.

On August 2, 1941, the *FAECT News Letter* announced and recommended an address by a Leo Huberman. This speaker's affiliations include the *American Council on Soviet Relations*; the *Book Union*; *Harry Bridges Defense Committee*; *Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights*; *Abolition of the Dies Committee*; *National Right to Work Congress*; signer of *Open Letter for Closer Cooperation with the Soviet Union*; and a member of the Advisory Board for *New Currents*, published by the *Committee of Jewish Writers, Artists and Scientists, Inc.* He was also a contributor to *U. S. Week*, and *Science and Society*, a *Marxist quarterly*.

COMMUNIST EFFORTS TO CONTROL SCIENTISTS

During 1945 a group of professional employees of the *Shell Development Company* organized an independent bargaining agency which they called the *Association of Industrial Scientists*. Chapter 25, contending

that the new group was company-controlled, brought the matter before the *National Labor Relations Board*.

In the possession of the committee is a letter written by Chapter 25's legal counsel on the stationery of the firm of Gladstein, Grossman, Sawyer and Edises. Aubrey Grossman, a member of this firm, has long been associated with Communist activities which he many times denied. When this letter was written in 1945 he was serving as the Educational Director of the Communist Party for the City and County of San Francisco. His wife, Hazel, was then, and still is, an instructor at the Communist *California Labor School*.

FAECT CONSPIRACY

This committee obtained copies of the minutes of the executive committee meetings of Chapter 25 during 1943 and herewith presents some of them in full, together with the comments of the individual who acted as undercover informant. Attention is directed to the air of intrigue, conspiracy and fear of detection which permeated these meetings:

"On April 7 * * * Ray Dunn stated that it would be necessary to obtain a complete personnel list of employees with the Radiation Lab, and that this could best be obtained from the personnel office. Dr. Nelson raised an objection to this procedure stating that the fleching of such a list would probably come to the attention of the FBI, which would cause trouble for the FAECT.

"Ted Finkelstein stated that many people he contacted objected to joining the union because they felt it was Communist controlled, and favored cooperation after the war by setting up a Communist government in the United States. In answer to this Ray Dunn stated that he understood this attitude, as he felt the same way—stated that the Communist Party *should* set up its own government in this country."

"On April 14, 1943 * * * the minutes of April 2d were read and approved.

"Regarding membership, Bernard Peters stated that it is absolutely necessary to get a good foothold on the 'Hill' before the FAECT could consider itself thoroughly entrenched.

"Bernard Peters suggested that the committee pass on all material to forestall any possible leakage of information.

"Shirlee Davis asked David Fox if it would be all right if outsiders came to the big meeting, and he answered that it wouldn't be wise because it might give the FBI and the university an opportunity to accuse the union of carelessness in letting out information by asking outsiders, as they might get to know the people working on the hill."

"On May 5, 1943 * * * Noel Bartlett stated that he would ask the mail girl in his department on the "Hill" to distribute leaflets or notifications of FAECT as if they were checks.

"David Fox suggested that these leaflets be put in envelopes to make them less liable to detection."

Marcel Scherer's authority to place scientists on the "Hill" is shown

by the informant's comment concerning a meeting attended by Scherer which, for reasons unimportant here, will not be more positively identified as to time:

"Scherer stated that many FAECT members had applied and been accepted for jobs in the Lab and on the 'Hill,' and for union members to encourage all FAECT members they knew to apply for jobs at the Lab. Incidentally, all personnel is directed through Scherer. He has an office on the campus and interviews people all the time. He is in extremely close contact with X all the time, and it is not far-fetched to say that just about all applicants are either members of the FAECT or have to become members before or after they are accepted as employees for the Lab. Scherer told a girl that he would guarantee her a job if she would join the union—a job at the Lab.

"In connection with the meeting * * * Scherer made the statement that he does not like to contact the university personally because 'they always bring up the case of Aubrey Grossman; that happened five years ago at Sather Gate when I wasn't even here.'

"Shirlee Davis says that they have to distribute literature under cover, as Sproul and the University have not given their approval, and Harold Lindsay was stopped from distributing literature—so she is taking over."

"On June 13, 1943. * * * Collins stated that the CIO was getting another organizer this week and that the U. C. Chapter would benefit by it; that Rose Segure had more than she could handle, and therefore more organizers were necessary.

"Max Feldman stated that most of those with whom he worked were favorable toward the union but that most of them would be going back east for the project soon. Mr. Collins stated that they should be signed up and transferred to the inactive list, as they were all technical people who could be of great assistance to the union and they could contact other technical people while back east, then be transferred back to the active list when they came back to California, and in that way they could have widened the Union's sphere of influence.

"During the discussion of the problem of membership, the necessity of organizing in every possible department of the university was stressed, and in this connection the possibility of organizing the U. C. guards was humorously suggested, but it was taken quite seriously by Rossi Lomanitz, who thought it might turn out to be very profitable if approached in the right way. However Max Feldman stated that the union had enough trouble 'without inviting the FBI into the meetings.'

"Collins further stated that from now on Rose Segure was to be consulted before any moves were made with regard to the University Administration, and in fact she should be the main one to contact the administration, as her methods were 'extremely smooth,' and the possibility of antagonism was less likely to come up.

"Rossi Lomanitz stated that he noticed that the guards always took the names of individuals coming and going on the 'Hill,' and they kept track of all coming and going of workers on the project

and that he didn't know what significance it had, but thought it might be a good idea to bring it up, so that if any committees were to meet—they could take proper precautions to meet at the right times and places.”

(For security reasons the committee has substituted an “X” in the foregoing in place of the person named.)

SOVIET CONSULATE IN SAN FRANCISCO

When the committee conducted a public hearing in Oakland for the purpose of authenticating the minutes of Chapter 25, a part of the hearing was devoted to the *California Labor School* in San Francisco, which the committee found to be completely under Communist control. Witnesses testified that David Jenkins, the director of the school, had been observed going to and from the Soviet Consulate in San Francisco, and from the announcement of courses which the school published in booklet form it was learned that members of Chapter 25 were at the time engaged in research dealing with the atomic project and conducting courses at the *California Labor School*.

FACTS ESTABLISHED BY THE COMMITTEE

The committee established by documented evidence the following facts:

1. The FAECT was organized by Communists and has been under complete Communist domination since 1933.
2. The west coast chapters, including Chapter 25, were organized by Communists.
3. The literature of Chapter 25 shows that it assiduously followed the Communist Party line, even when the “line” twisted back on itself in June of 1941.
4. Many of the members of the FAECT, both nationally and from Chapter 25, are nuclear chemists and physicists employed in atomic-bomb research.
5. With the inception of all-out atomic research in 1943, Chapter 25 was visited by top-flight FAECT officials and organizers, all of whom had manifested their sympathies toward the Communist program.
6. Authenticated minutes of the executive committee of Chapter 25 disclosed a plan to surreptitiously obtain complete lists of all personnel at the atomic laboratories in Berkeley; to infiltrate the entire project and to propagandize and organize the scientists engaged in the work to develop the atomic bomb, and that this plan was conducted with the studied purpose of avoiding detection by the FBI.
7. Scientists engaged in atomic research, while members of Chapter 25 were lecturing on scientific matters at the Communist *California Labor School* in San Francisco, the director of which admitted, under pressure, that he was a registered Communist in New York and who was observed going to and from the Soviet Consulate in San Francisco.

FAECT A POTENTIAL COMMUNIST ESPIONAGE RING

The committee is firmly convinced that such a front as the FAECT, with its history of Communist control and its membership comprising scientists and technicians who are employed in key projects throughout this Country and Canada, presents a serious situation which should be dealt with immediately and effectually. An article in the February, 1947, issue of the *American Magazine* by J. Edgar Hoover entitled *Red Fascism in the United States Today* should remove any doubt from the minds of the naive concerning the very real danger to the security of the United States from such sources.

When Martin Dies attacked the FAECT and its president, Mr. Berne, on the floor of Congress and accused the entire organization and its officers of being saturated with Communism, Berne determined to make a reply. He selected Vito Marcantonio to read general denials into the Congressional Record. Marcantonio has for years been head of the *International Labor Defense* in this country—one of the more potent and obvious Communist front organizations—a section of MOPR or *International Red Aid* with headquarters in Moscow. For more complete information concerning his devotion to the party line, which is as assiduous as Mr. Berne's, see the *Saturday Evening Post* article in the issue for January 11, 1947, under the title "They Couldn't Purge Vito."

ROYAL CANADIAN COMMISSION REPORT ON SOVIET ESPIONAGE

Those cynical and hard-to-convince persons who are inclined to scoff at reports of underground Communist activity in America are respectfully urged to read another *Post* article which appears in the issues for January 25 and February 1, 1947, dealing with the Russian espionage case in Canada. (See also Gouzenko's story in *Cosmopolitan* beginning with the February, 1947, issue.) This article is based on the report of the *Royal Canadian Commission*, the members of which were appointed to investigate the attempts of the Russians to steal atomic research and military secrets from the Canadian Government. Copies of the official report have been in the possession of this committee for the past six months and have been thoroughly studied. The Royal Canadian Committee's report of 733 pages has been broken down by committee attaches, and the information has been correlated on file-cards for ready use. This information has proven of tremendous value in connection with investigations now being conducted.

The story told in the Canadian report reads like fiction, but it is grim, documented fact; blunt, ominous proof of Communist activities in both Canada and the United States.

In 1943 Igor Gouzenko came from the Soviet Union to Ottawa as a code clerk attached to the staff of Colonel Zabotin of the Soviet Embassy. Born in 1919, two years after the revolution, Gouzenko was too young to know much about the Lenin-Trotsky regime, the real reasons for the liquidation of the Bolshevik Old Guard and the distortions of historical fact that accompanied Stalin's rise to absolute power. By the time he reached manhood, Gouzenko had been admitted to the Communist Party—a rare privilege accorded to a favored minority in Russia—and was literally steeped in typical Soviet propaganda through the controlled channels of information. He was taught from childhood to distrust all

things foreign; that the workers in decadent capitalist nations were deprived of all democratic freedom and forced to labor in economic bondage; that all non-Communist countries were the implacable foes of the Soviet Union, and should be destroyed through espionage, strikes, intrigue or any other means; that only through revolution could the toiling masses of the world be emancipated.

This was the Igor Gouzenko who was sent to Ottawa in 1943 as a trusted Communist. For three years he coded and decoded the messages that passed between the Soviet Embassy at Ottawa and the Kremlin—most of them being reports of Canadian Communists serving as espionage agents for Russia. No one could have been in a better position to keep his finger on the nerve-center of Russian military espionage in Canada; for through Gouzenko's hands passed all of the detailed information to the Soviet Government: atomic research; the disposition of troops—both Canadian and American; the location of defense installations; plans for the joint defense of Canada and the United States in the event of attack by a foreign power. In addition, which was of prime importance, Gouzenko also came to know the identities of the Canadian agents.

He had been instructed not to trust the Canadians and not to associate with them any more than was absolutely necessary, but during the three years of his residence in Canada he saw the "enslaved" workers riding to and from work in their own automobiles, obviously well dressed, well fed and happy. He saw elections in which there was more than one candidate for each office; he observed free media of public information and realized that the propaganda he had received in Russia could not stand up against what he himself observed in Canada—the military ally of the Soviet Union, and the country which he was then helping to undermine. Gouzenko determined then that he would never allow his wife and small child to return to Russia. He went to the embassy in September of 1945 and took therefrom many original documents with which to corroborate his story and turned them over to the Canadian authorities. There was not the slightest question concerning the authenticity of the documents.

A spy ring of staggering proportions was uncovered.

High on the list of information desired by the Russians was the subject of atomic research. Through the voluntary offices of a Canadian physicist, who was also a Communist and an employee in the Canadian atomic research project, a sample of Uranium 235 was handed over to Colonel Zabolotin's men and flown directly from Ottawa to Moscow.

According to the Report of the Royal Commission the Russians employ a subtle psychological technique which is designed to alienate the allegiance of Canadian citizens from their own government by imperceptible degrees and to transfer it to the Soviet Union as the fountain-head of international Communism. The individual is first made to rebel against certain specific defects in the Canadian Government. Next he is convinced that under a system of world socialism such defects will vanish, and that an ultimate utopia will be achieved through the ideology of international Communism. In this manner the subject is induced to transfer his fundamental allegiance, step by step through the gradual process of indoctrination, first to an idealistic international government and finally to the Soviet Union as the only nation capable of bringing

about the emancipation of the common people of the world. This technique is employed in an atmosphere of secrecy and intrigue. The Canadians who joined the Communist Party, or were already members, were subjected to the most stringent discipline, and seemed to actually welcome the opportunity to undermine their own government.

One of the most important disclosures resulting from the Gouzenko testimony (which was fully documented) was incontrovertible proof that the Comintern, which Russia blandly told the world the Communists liquidated in 1943, had merely gone underground and was functioning more actively than ever as the high board of strategy for world revolution.

Gouzenko stated under oath that there were at least three other espionage rings operating out of the Soviet Embassy: the NKVD, or secret police, the economic and the political units. Each had its own secret code and its own code clerks, so that there was no way in which a member of one ring could know what the others were up to.

COMMUNIST PLANS TO SHARE ATOM SECRETS WITH RUSSIA

The simultaneous occurrence of events in 1943 may have been purely coincidental.

This committee is convinced that the apparently widely separated incidents were all part of a well-correlated plan.

It was in 1943 that all-out atomic research was launched. It was in 1943 that Colonel Zabotin, Gouzenko and their comrades were sent to Ottawa. It was in 1943 that Marcel Scherer, Lewis Alan Berne and Rose Segure came to Berkeley to devote their peculiar talents to the problems then facing Chapter 25 of the FAECT. It was in 1943 that the executive committee minutes of Chapter 25 began to include such statements as: "It would be necessary to obtain a complete personnel list of employees with the Radiation Lab," but that "the flching of such a list would probably come to the attention of the FBI"; that "many people objected to joining the union as they felt that the FAECT was Communist controlled"; that "the Communist Party should set up its own government in this country"; that it was necessary "to get a foothold on 'The Hill' before the FAECT could consider itself thoroughly entrenched"; that measures should be taken to "forestall any possible leakage of information"; that a girl mail clerk on "The Hill" could be persuaded "to distribute the leaflets or notifications of the FAECT as if they were checks," and they should "be put in envelopes to make them less liable to detection."

There are many other phases of the FAECT investigation which, for various reasons, cannot be presented in this report. Officers of Chapter 25 stated, when examined by the committee, that they managed to organize all of the personnel at the Radiation Laboratory except two, but that when the government asked them to cease their activities, they immediately complied. One wonders, then, why the executive committee members were so apprehensive of detection by the FBI and why they conducted their organizing and propagandizing with such secrecy and surreptition. As for obeying the order of the government, it is obvious that they had no alternative; they either complied or would have had to suffer the consequence of disobedience.

Chapter 25 has consistently made light of the fact that the United States should attempt to guard the secret of the atomic bomb. Thus in the November 27, 1945, issue of *The Facts Speak* this statement appears:

"Far more important, however, are the policies which have been adopted regarding the atomic bomb. President Truman has stated flatly that the United States will keep the 'secret' of the atomic bomb. Since we have no 'secret' but only some technical know-how which most countries can soon duplicate, other nations naturally feel that this country is using its temporary lead in atomic bombs as a threat to enforce its demands."

In this connection it is of passing interest to note that a strikingly similar statement appeared simultaneously in the *Report from Washington*, a bulletin issued by the *Hollywood Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions*:

"The Atom Bomb has become an integral part of our foreign policy. But our foreign policy remains heavily veiled in a mass of evasive generalities and contradictory directives depending upon the world areas in which these various 'foreign policies' are exercised.

"* * * As a result of these developments our present position on atomic power—resting on the premise that we 'keep the secret'—is extremely dangerous and can lead only to a tremendous armament race ending in an inevitable third world war."

Our State Department's Report on the *Control of Atomic Energy* flatly contradicts Chapter 25's effort to shrug aside our secret knowledge as just some "technical know-how" which other countries will soon duplicate:

"Our monopoly on knowledge cannot be, and should not be, lost at once. There is rather a wide freedom of choice in the actual scheduling of disclosures. Here considerations of acceptability and of general political background will make a decisive contribution.

"It is true, as the Secretary of State has said, that there is nothing in the resolution setting up the Atomic Energy Commission that compels the United States to produce information for the use of the United Nations Commission. But unless we are prepared to provide the information essential to an understanding of the problem, the commission cannot even begin the task that has been assigned to it. Much of the information which is required for this purpose is already widely known. There are further necessary items now held by us as secret. *They are largely qualitative; and they involve almost nothing of know-how.*" (Italics ours.)

AMERICAN COMMUNIST QUISLINGS

If naive and uninformed Americans require further proof to convince them of the real menace to this Nation from the underground activities of the Communists among us; if they do not believe the Royal Canadian Report, the magazine articles above-mentioned and the statements of J. Edgar Hoover, Director of our *Federal Bureau of Investigation*, they should certainly be convinced by the statement of William Z.

Foster, the present leader of the Communist Party in the United States to the effect that every American Communist owes his primary allegiance to the Soviet Union.

There is a long list of persons who were members of the Communist Party in the United States, some of whom held high offices in the party, who have resigned and attempted to warn the American people of the danger that confronts them from within. These warnings have been received with general indifference, both by the public and by the government. Since the war, however, the international situation has served to alert the people to such matters, and the committee has therefore selected an excerpt from what it deems the ultimate authority on the subject.

General Walter Krivitsky was in charge of military intelligence for the Red Army for western Europe. His knowledge of espionage activities by the Soviet Government was extensive. When the Moscow purge trials reached their bloody climax late in 1938, General Krivitsky determined that he would break with Communism, and managed to escape through France to the United States. In 1939 he wrote a book called "*In Stalin's Secret Service.*" Shortly, following publication of the book, it received a grim tribute of authenticity when Krivitsky was found assassinated in Washington, D. C. The following quotation is taken from page 72:

"During the mechanization and motorization of the Red Army, we had members of the American Communist Party as our agents in aircraft and automobile factories and in munitions plants.

"In Moscow several years ago, I told the Chief of our Military Intelligence in the United States that I thought he was going too far in mobilizing such a large percentage of American Party Functionaries for espionage. His reply was typical: 'Why not? They receive good Soviet money. They'll never make a revolution, so they might as well earn their pay.'

"With the thousands of recruits enlisted under the banner of democracy, the Communist OGPU espionage ring in the United States grew much larger and penetrated previously untouched territory. By carefully concealing their identity, Communists found their way into hundreds of key positions. It became possible for Moscow to influence the conduct of officials who would not knowingly approach a Comintern or OGPU agent with a ten-foot pole."

COMMUNIST MERGER OF ESPIONAGE FRONTS

The foregoing report by Mr. Combs is not complete without the following note.

Rose Segure was formerly affiliated with the *State, County and Municipal Workers of America* (SCMWA). This was the Communist front group that bored into the *State Relief Administration* of California in 1938, 1939 and 1940. The organization was exposed by an Assembly Relief Investigating Committee headed by Assemblyman Samuel W. Yorty.

A few months ago SCMWA merged with the *United Federal Workers of America*, to form an entirely new organization now known as the

United Public Workers, headed by Abraham Flaxer, former president of the *State, County and Municipal Workers of America*.

Flaxer's background is interesting. He has served on the National Executive Board of the CIO; he has been affiliated with the *American Peace Mobilization*, the *American League Against War and Fascism*, the *Luis Carlos Prestes Defense Committee*, the *Schappes Defense Committee*, the *Committee to Free Earl Browder*, the *Bridges Defense Committee*, the *Joint Trade Union Conference for Trade Union Rights*, the *Committee Honoring Georgi Dimitrov*, ex-secretary of the Comintern, the *National Federation for Constitutional Liberties*, the *American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born*, the *American Committee to Save Refugees*, the *United Spanish Aid Committee*, the *National Negro Congress*, the *Committee to Reelect Vito Marcantonio to Congress*, and the *National Council on Soviet-American Friendship*.

This merger insures Flaxer 75,000 members. He was born in Russia. Like Lewis Alan Berne, he has frequently denied his Communist membership.

At about the same time the foregoing merger was being effected, another one was launched to wed the FAECT with the *United Office and Professional Workers of America*, CIO. This went through in 1946, so that now the four CIO fronts: The FAECT; the *State, County and Municipal Workers of America*; the *United Office and Professional Workers of America*, and the *United Federal Workers of America*, have joined hands, and instead of four separate organizations, there are now two. All of these organizations are Communist fronts. Through the Communist control exerted throughout Communist members may be placed in vitally strategic positions throughout the very heart of our government and in positions where the Communist Party will have access to information of tremendous value to a potential enemy power.

THE CURRENT COMMUNIST PARTY LINE

The committee finds that most important Communists, while thoroughly under the discipline of the Communist hierarchy in America, are rarely carried on Communist Party books as such. Guided by Communist lawyers, such as Aubrey Grossman, Leo Gallagher and others, the party functionaries are instructed to keep their records in such a manner that they are of little value within the strict rules of the laws of evidence. The legal-lights of the Communist Party have seen to it that exposure of important comrades is almost impossible, at least, as far as the courts are concerned. Committee investigators have had access to recent Communist Party membership records and realize the futility involved in attempting to prove anything by them. One well known Communist is carried on one such list as "John 4-X." The Communist Party legal staff, versed in American jurisprudence, has arranged matters so that such records will never constitute evidence in the legal sense.

Every investigating body has been faced with this problem of evidence. Exposure of Communists such as Herbert K. Sorrell through his application for membership in the Communist Party and his dues-books have put the party particularly on guard.

Outstanding functionaries, such as William Schneiderman, Dorothy Healy and Aubrey Grossman, necessarily avow their Communist affiliation and will do so as long as the party remains partially above ground.

The committee, throughout its more than six years of investigation, has attempted carefully to distinguish between American *liberals* and American *Communists*. Experience has convinced the Committee that this is not a very difficult task. An American Socialist is probably the most anti-Communist individual in the country. Contrary to the generally accepted public belief, the Labor Party of England constitutes a real substantial bulwark against Communism in the British Isles. The *New Leader*, published in New York by American Social Democrats, is probably one of the most effective periodicals in the United States fighting Communism. The contributors to this weekly are all liberals and progressives in the true sense of the word. They fight for trade unionism and vigorously oppose discrimination because of race, color or creed and stand squarely for the rights of minority groups, whether in the political or economic fields. While advocating socialistic reforms in the field of economy they wage an effective and telling fight against Stalin abroad and the Stalinites at home.

The liberal American will rarely become indignant when accused of being a Communist. He will set you right and join with you in a vigorous condemnation of everything Communistic. On the other hand, nothing makes an undercover Communist more angry than to be called a "Communist." He will circumvent every question and demand that you "define your terms."

Indicative of the attitude of a real American liberal is the case of Benjamin Stolberg, noted American journalist and outstanding fighter against Communism.

In the Committee's 1945 Report, at page 150, R. E. Combs, Committee counsel, in his report on the *CIO Political Action Committee* wrote the following:

Benjamin Stolberg, once having been a member of the *National Committee of the Communist Party*, was able to shrewdly predict a liquidation of Mr. Lewis when he stated in his article, "*Communist Wreckers in American Labor*," which appeared in the September 2, 1939, issue of the *Saturday Evening Post*. * * *

The statement that Mr. Stolberg had once been a member of the *National Committee of the Communist Party* was, of course, an error. The mistake was made in the rush of proofreading and the phrase "once having been a member of the *National Committee of the Communist Party*" was a line that became misplaced in the process. The error was not discovered until the reports were bound and distributed.

Benjamin Stolberg's attitude is not only interesting, but illustrative of both his character and his Americanism. The chairman received the following letter from Mr. Stolberg under date of June 27, 1945:

DEAR SENATOR TENNEY: The other day I called on Mr. Herbert Hoover, who gave me a copy of your Second Report on Un-American Activities, which he suggested that I read.

That night it was steamingly hot, sleep was out of the question and I spent most of it reading your fascinating report, which is not only learned and sound but clever.

But, when I got to page 150, I fell out of bed from sheer shock, broke my ankle and passed out, for which I shall of course sue the State of California for a couple of millions. For there, black and white, I was quoted—quite approvingly—as an expert on Communism on the ground that I once was "a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party."

Now, I never was a member of the Communist Party, let alone its national committee. I never was a member even of the Socialist Party. In fact, I never was a member of any political party until last November when I joined the Republican Party.

I pride myself that way back in 1922, Earl Browder wrote an entire little pamphlet, showing that I was nothing but a miserable "Bourgeois" progressive and capitalist "apologist." Of course, that was very mild criticism of my spiritual corruption, for 10 years later the *Daily Worker* called me a "street-walker," a very low-priced one at that. Naturally, I feel very honored by this evolution-in-depravity in communist eyes—and correspondingly humiliated by being mistakenly called a former high functionary of the C. P. racket.

More seriously: If there is another edition of your report, can you make the correction? And if there is no other edition, can you correct the statement in your next hearings?

I expect to be in your city within a month or so and I shall take great pleasure in looking you up.

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed)

BENJAMIN STOLBERG.

The committee is happy for this opportunity to correct its error of 1945 and humbly apologizes to Benjamin Stolberg. If there were more journalists with the vigorous wit and the powers of analysis exemplified in the outstanding work of such men as Benjamin Stolberg, Eugene Lyons and George E. Sokolsky there would be a lot less muddle-headed thinking in these United States.

THE PARTY LINE

An independent thinking American, no matter how radical his views may be, follows his *own* particular convictions. All views on political and economic subjects change from time-to-time as long as the mind is free to develop. Many people are led to believe, through Communist propaganda, that similarity between an individual's political and economic beliefs with the Communist Party program is merely incidental. Some people will usually argue that because the Communist Party advocates a certain reform espoused by the individual that the objective must not be abandoned merely because it has Communist support. What such individuals *do not know* is that through the processes of Marxian dialectic the Communist Party program has been evolved to *fit the thinking of the non-Communist individual*. The important difference is that, while the non-Communist may advocate and advance reforms with the intent to *strengthen* the economic or social structure, the Communist utilizes the program for the purpose of creating *dissension, chaos and collapse*.

The application of Marxian dialectic and the materialistic interpretation of history to current events, crusades and reforms, with Soviet foreign policy in the forefront and carried forward without rhyme or reason for American interests, brands any individual continually following the "line" with the hammer-and-sickle.

It is the mark of Cain and, whether the individual carries a Communist Party book or not, his regimented thinking and acting marks him for what he is. At this point the non-Communist independent thinker parts company with the Communist Party.

THE IMPERIALIST WAR!

One of the most amazing twists in the Communist Party line occurred during the Hitler-Stalin Pact, as has been so often stated. The committee, in order to make the record complete, reproduces the text of one of the many thousand pamphlets distributed by the Communist Party during the period between August 22, 1939, and June 22, 1941—the 22 months of Communist-Nazi collaboration.

THIS IS NOT OUR WAR!

WE MUST STAY OUT

We Americans were suckers in 1917.

Let's be wise in 1940 and stay out of this war.

We can stay out only by a policy of strict neutrality!

No loans, no arms, no aid to either side.

Feed America and starve the war.

Be American—and help save America from war!

MOTHERS!

FATHERS!

YOUNG PEOPLE!

A terrible fear is spreading among our people and throughout our land. It is the fear of getting into war. With every passing day the propaganda and steps for involvement become more open and bolder.

But we the people—at least 95 percent of us—are absolutely opposed to going to war. We don't want any part of the mass butchery that is taking place in Europe.

It is the Wall Street bankers, the big industrialists and the high politicians that want to drag us in. They made over five billion dollars in clear profit out of the last war. Now again, by getting us into war they hope to make huge profits, to secure new markets, to extend American imperialist power.

President Roosevelt is leading the way for the war plans of the economic royalists—the very people who used to fight him, but who now rally around him. Even Hoover and the Republicans and the big newspapers—the worst enemies of the common people—are whooping it up for Roosevelt's actions.

Roosevelt's so-called national defense speech was in reality a war speech. He tries to stampede us into a war spirit by talk of invasion of our shores. But even Lindbergh says that talk of invasion is hysteria and propaganda. Roosevelt's speeches and actions are exactly parallel to President Wilson's in 1917.

In 1916 Wilson said he was for peace. In 1917 when war was declared he said it was a war for Democracy. He gave loans and help to the allies. He suppressed civil liberties in a great "red hunt."

And today, in 1940, Roosevelt is doing exactly the same. He, too, says he is for peace. He says the war in Europe is a war for civilization. He has completely abandoned neutrality and is lining us up to fight for England and France. He is launching a great Red Hunt—a campaign to suppress civil liberties and freedom of speech to intimidate and suppress anti-war sentiment and organization.

We the common people are opposed to war.

But too many of us are saying, "Well, I guess there isn't anything we can do about it. We're going to get in anyway." That's exactly the way the war makers want us to think and act.

But WE are the majority. WE have the power, if WE speak up, if WE get together, to

KEEP AMERICA OUT OF THE IMPERIALISTIC WAR!

(Read Other Side)

The reverse side of this leaflet reads as follows:

WHAT YOU AS ONE INDIVIDUAL CAN DO

To Help

KEEP AMERICA OUT OF WAR!

Here are a few things you can do!

- (1) Pass this leaflet around to your friends, relatives and neighbors. This is the first and simplest thing to do.
- (2) Talk to people everywhere you meet them about the ideas put forth in this leaflet. Let your antiwar opinions get around.
- (3) Send letters to your congressman and to President Roosevelt expressing your antiwar views. We must let them know that the people are against going to war. Urge your friends to write letters, also.
- (4) *Send letters and resolutions of support* to all Union leaders and progressives who stand up against war!
- (5) Write letters—make phone calls—to newspapers, radio stations, making known your antiwar sentiments.
- (6) Get resolutions passed in your organization against war.
- (7) Don't be timid, don't be bashful about talking to your grocer, your milkman, your fellow travelers on the street car or train.

These are only a few suggestions. Many more things can be done if you will only set about doing them.

Speak up against the war mongers!

Then the other fellow will also speak up!

Remember it will be your son, your brother, your sweetheart or yourself that will have to fight and die if we get into war.

If you and the 95 percent speak up and act we can stay out of this war.

Let's tell everybody: This is not our war!

This time * * * the Yanks are not coming!

Issued by the Communist Party,
Los Angeles County,
124 West Sixth Street.

Hear Earl Browder on National Hook-Up Sunday, June 2nd,
9.30 to 10 a.m.—Stations KFI, KHJ, KECA

BROWDER ESTABLISHES THE "LINE"

The Communist Party issued a four-page tabloid newspaper for Monday, September 2, 1940, entitled *Challenge*. It purported to be a Labor Day edition. John Polkki, member of the ILWU, Local 1-13, and a candidate for the State Assembly from the Sixty-eighth District on the

Communist ticket, writes an article entitled "Why I Joined the Communist Party." Paul Cline, Communist alien, writes on Labor, Capital and Socialism, under the general title of "Let's Talk it Over." Pettis Perry is writing about Negroes in trade unions and Celeste Strack writes on "Young America." George Ashby, Communist Party candidate for Congress from the Eighteenth District, is given quite a write-up. This article reveals the usual deception employed by the Communist Party in pointing out that George Ashby was "elected to the Democratic County Central Committee with the highest vote of any candidate for that office," from which he resigned to join the Communist Party when it became apparent to him that Roosevelt was "leading the country into the imperialist war." Communist Henry Steinberg, James C. McLean, Albert Lane Lewis and George Sandy are advertised as speakers over Radio Station KFAC for the Communist Party candidates. The Progressive Book Shop at 226½ South Spring Street is given space, and Ezra Bailey presents a squib in favor of Browder for President over both Roosevelt and Willkie, the "war-mongers."

Browder's radio campaign rates a half page plug on his scheduled programs on "Why Conscription?," "Who Is the Real Fifth Column?," "How Can We Defend America?," "Willkie and Roosevelt," and "A Program for Peace and Security."

The editorial page carries the legend "Official Publication of the Communist Party Los Angeles County" under the masthead. The leading editorial is as follows:

The Traitors' Counsel

"We weren't suckers to get into the war of 1917! The time to fight is *now* while we have Britain as our ally! The best defense is a timely offensive! Let's get right into the war!"

This is the counsel of John Perry Wood, Chairman of the Local Committee to Drag America Into the War by Aiding the Allies. It is contained in a long article in the Los Angeles Times of August 17th. Once before, Mr. Wood, at a meeting in the Philharmonic Auditorium, said we ought to give "every cent, every gun, ships, *men* if necessary" to the imperialist slaughter.

At that meeting he waved a Communist leaflet and shouted that the Communists were "Fifth Columnists" because we urge the American people to stay at peace. In the *Times* article Mr. Wood repeats the slander. But this time it is not only the Communists, but also Senator Wheeler of Montana, who is, "either a fool * * * or is himself leading the 'Fifth Columnists'," because the Senator opposes the war plans of Wall Street.

The War mongers are still trying to mask themselves behind the "save Democracy" slogan. They are still trying to pull the wool over our eyes and drag us into the war. The counsel of Mr. Wood is the same as that of Roosevelt, his stooge, former Ambassador Bullitt, and Wendell Willkie. All have the same brand—get into the war by aiding the British Empire. This is truly the *counsel of traitors*.

The American people will have nothing of this.

It is to be noted that Charles A. Lindbergh and Senator Burton Wheeler were Communist Party heroes during the Hitler-Stalin Pact.

COMMUNIST PARTY CONVENTIONS

Earl Browder was repudiated by the annual State Conventions of the Communist Party held in San Francisco and Los Angeles, July 15, 1945. It is said that 600 delegates attended these conventions.

The Communist Party clubs elected 354 American Communists as delegates to the convention in Los Angeles and advocated a "Soviet America."

The Northern California Convention in San Francisco elected John Hughes, William Schneiderman, Steve Nelson, John Morgan, Ray Thompson and Mickey Lima as delegates to the National Convention in New York, July 26, 1945. Alternate delegates were Aubrey Grossman and Walter Stack.

"Nemmy" (Ned) Sparks, Dorothy Healy, David Buckman and Bill O'Neal were elected as delegates to the National Convention by the Southern California Convention.

It is reported that the National Convention was attended by 93 hand-picked delegates all of whom were obligated in advance to insist on the reinstatement of the Communist Party and the ouster of Browder, in conformity with the Duclos letter. As has been pointed out in this report, William Z. Foster replaced Earl Browder. A national board of 11 members and a secretariat of four were elected as predetermined. The members of the secretariat are William Z. Foster, Eugene Dennis, John Williamson and Robert Thompson. These four members of the secretariat are also members of the national board which, in addition, is composed of Benjamin J. Davis, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Jack Stachel, Lewis Weinstock, Irving Potash, Steve Nelson and Josh Lawrence. Nelson is said to be a resident of California.

Representatives of the non-Communist press were refused admittance to the convention.

PRESENT COMMUNIST PARTY LINE

The *Hollywood Citizen News* for October 24, 1946, quotes *Political Affairs* (the ideological publication of the Communist Party, formerly *The Communist*) setting forth the current Communist Party line. The editorial is as follows:

The September issue of "Political Affairs" provides valuable information for one who seeks to understand the Communists.

"Political Affairs" describes itself as, "A magazine devoted to the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism." It quotes the speeches and prints the writings of William Z. Foster and other leaders in the Communist Party of the United States of America. The magazine is purchasable at bookstores handling Communist publications.

In the magazine, the American people are divided into two groups by the Communist Party leaders. On the one hand are the "progressives." They include members of the Communist Party, the CIO, the PAC, the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, and 150 organizations "charged with being 'front' organizations."

On the other hand are the "Fascists." The "Fascists" include all Republicans, "Tory" Democrats, reactionaries, Big Business,

imperialists, monopolists and war mongers. Anyone who doesn't accept the communist program is a "Fascist." He is also a war monger. He is also an imperialist. He is also a reactionary. And he is either a Republican or a "Tory" Democrat.

Some of the aims of the Communist Party are set forth in the following language:

"To strengthen and broaden the people's struggle against the war-mongers, reactionaries and profiteers, labor and all anti-fascist forces must now display far greater political and organizing initiative in developing and leading mass movements and struggles in behalf of the most immediate and pressing economic and political demands of the workers, veterans, Negro people, farmers and city middle class. These demands include * * * the withdrawal of American troops from China and the Philippines * * * outlawing the atom bomb as a weapon of war * * * honoring America's commitments at Potsdam, Moscow and Yalta.

"High priority in the building of the progressive mass organizations must also be given to strengthen and expand the National Negro Congress * * * determinedly build the American Veterans Committee * * * aid the growth of the militant, anti-imperialist American Youth for Democracy * * * extend the base and mass activities of the Win-the-Peace movement.

"The growth of these progressive organizations * * * will increase the fighting capacity and political strength of the entire camp of Democracy and peace.

"Everything possible must be done to cement the unity and strength of the CIO * * * our attitude toward the progressive policies of the CIO * * * are based on a long-range perspective of friendly collaboration.

"There are other democratic circles, represented by the Peppers, Kennys and Sabaths, who genuinely desire to implement Roosevelt's program.

"The election struggle must be waged so as to mobilize full resistance to the imperialist policy of the Truman Administration which is carrying out the program of Big Business.

"The Truman Administration * * * steers a bellicose, anti-Soviet policy and increasingly reneges on the Big Three agreements entered into by Roosevelt.

"The developing third party movement should be consolidated under working class leadership, and developed as a potent and integral part of the labor-democratic coalition now working for victory in the congressional elections.

No genuine progressive anywhere will question the fact that the GOP is owned, lock, stock and barrel, by the most extreme reactionaries, by the Hearsts, duPonts and McCormicks. * * * These reactionaries * * * are seeking to present a liberal front, using for this purpose the Warrens, Stassens and LaFollettes.

"Authoritative centers should be established to carry on mass educational work * * * to help direct the mass movement toward a third, a people's mass party.

"We must increase our vigilance and fortify our Marxist-Leninist struggle * * * so as to reach and convince millions of workers and progressives and set them in motion.

"A national campaign must be set in motion to break diplomatic relations with Franco-Spain.

"Serious steps must be taken to thwart and nullify the current offensive of American imperialism against Latin-American democracy * * * against the adoption of the so-called Inter-American Military Defense Act.

"Above all, concrete measures must be taken to strengthen American-Soviet friendship * * *. The opponents of American-Soviet collaboration, especially the Hoover-Vandenberg-Earle-Bullitt clique, as well as Byrnes and Dulles, must be condemned. * * * The Roosevelt policy for postwar peace based upon closest cooperation of the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition must be restored.

"In their Red-baiting crusade the men of the trusts * * * are bringing into full play the hierarchy of the Catholic Church and the top officialdom of the A. F. of L., the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars * * * against the militant trade unions, the Communist Party and some 150 progressive organizations which are charged with being 'front-organizations.'

"The potentially powerful American-Win-the-Peace movement has mapped out a sound united front program of action which can help check the drive toward imperialist expansion and war.

"The Goebbels-like issue of anti-Communism, brought forward by the monopolies, has not yet been squarely met within the ranks of labor and progressives.

"Every encroachment on labor's rights, every attack on the Negro and the Jewish peoples, and every repressive move against the Communists, must be seen and combatted * * * as a dangerous assault upon the camp of Democracy and peace.

"We have also just concluded a general membership campaign that brought in over 15,000 members. * * * A third of all our recruits are Negro men and women.

"We are also undertaking to build the *Daily Worker* and the *People's World* * * * and to increase their circulation substantially. * * * The example of California is well worth examining. There, a great feeling of love for the *People's World* is demonstrated. * * * A close relation also exists between the *People's World* and the trade union movement. * * * The editors of the *People's World* manage to participate actively in party work."

Thanks to "Political Affairs," there need be no misunderstanding of the communist program.

The Communist Party line, therefore, may be summarized as follows:

1. Praise everyone who does not adversely criticize the Communist Party.
2. All Communists and fellow-travelers are to be referred to as "Progressives."

3. All Republicans and anti-Communist Democrats are to be smeared as "Fascists," "Reactionaries," "Imperialists," "Monopolists," "War-Mongers," etc.

4. Everyone who is anti-Communist is to be "smeared" as a "War-Monger" and a Fascist, etc.

5. Demand the withdrawal of American troops from China so that the Chinese Communists will have a better opportunity against the Nationalist Government.

6. The Army must be demobilized.

7. The atomic bomb must be given to Russia.

8. Strengthen such Communist dominated mass organizations as the *National Negro Congress*, the *American Veterans Committee* and *American Youth for Democracy* (formerly the *Young Communist League*), etc.

9. Intensify the so-called "Win-the-Peace" movement.

10. Work within the CIO and strengthen it as a Communist dominated organization.

11. Support such Communist and Soviet appeasers as Wallace, Pepper, etc.

12. Smear the Truman administration, because of its anti-Soviet policy.

13. Work in favor of a Third Party Political movement.

14. The Soviet policy in Eastern Europe, in China and the Middle East must be defended and supported at all costs.

15. Agitate for a diplomatic break with Franco's Spain.

16. Work against the adoption of an Inter-American Military Defense Pact. Smear support of such a Pact as United States Capitalist imperialism against Latin American democracies.

17. Byrnes (Marshall), Truman and Vandenberg are to be denounced as "war-mongers" and "imperialists."

18. Strengthen American-Soviet friendship and smear the opponents of American-Soviet collaboration, such as Hoover, Vandenberg, Earle, Bullitt, Byrnes, Dulles, etc.

19. South America must be saved from the imperialist designs of American monopoly capital.

20. The colonialism of Great Britain and the United States is to be attacked and smashed.

21. The *American Federation of Labor* unions must be continually attacked and "smeared" as "company unions," etc.

22. The *Catholic Church*, the *American Legion* and the *Veterans of Foreign Wars* must be continually attacked and "smeared" as "Fascist," etc.

23. The Win-the-Peace movement and similar front organizations are to be expanded and utilized to demobilize the Army and to weaken United States military power.

24. Exploit all grievances arising out of Congress' failure to extend OPA and other wartime measures.

25. Exaggerate and exploit every incident in which the Negro and Jewish people are involved to the detriment of the United States and the Constitution.

26. Expand front organizations in the racial field for the purpose of intensifying and sharpening "class-consciousness."

27. Agitate for services by the State and Federal Governments by which taxes are inevitably increased.

28. Raise continuous protests against the high cost of living and the burdensome taxes imposed by State and Federal Governments.

29. Support all legislative measures designed to regiment the people.

30. Sacrifice every issue, if necessary, to defend and support the foreign policy of the Soviet Union.

31. All alleged progressive or liberal organizations that do not follow the Communist Party line must be disrupted and destroyed, particularly the American Socialists and Social Democrats.

32. *Moral Rearmament*, *Youth for Christ*, etc., are to be smeared as "Pollyanna" organizations created by the Fascists to divert the working-class mind from the revolution.

COMMUNISM IN VETERANS ORGANIZATIONS

Committee investigators have, for several months, been investigating reports concerning Communist activities in organized veterans' groups. The charge of Communism has been leveled against one organization of World War II veterans, the *American Veterans Committee*. Preliminary reports indicate that this group is under Communist influence. The committee is in possession of a report stating that a member of the organization was expelled for "red-baiting."

In this connection an editorial from the *Hollywood Citizen News* for Friday, January 17, 1947, under the title "Uncovering Commies" is significantly interesting. The editorial is as follows:

Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., is finding out about the influence of the Communists in the American Veterans Committee, just as his brother, James, found out about the influence of the Communists in the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, and just as his father and mother eventually found out about the influence of Communists in the Democratic Party and in bureaus of the Federal Government.

Though the American Veterans Committee was a conception of the Communists and though they got young Roosevelt into it for window dressing purposes, he says that he is going to stay in and fight the Communists who have made the organization into one that is "tattered and torn and factionalized."

Because of similarity of names, it should be pointed out that American Veterans Committee has no connection with American Veterans of World War II who call themselves "AMVETS."

"We are now bewildered and confused," Roosevelt told his group, "by the lies and tactics thrown at us by people who would not admit they were Commies but who at every turn of the road hew to the *Daily Worker* (Communist newspaper) line." There's

a thought for the benefit of others who may try to size up people who deny they are Communists but who follow the Communist program in every detail.

Brother James Roosevelt abandoned his lucrative job of window dressing for the ICCASP when he came to the conclusion that even a Roosevelt might be misled. He didn't fight the organization but in switching his activities to the Democratic Party organization in California he announced that he was going to keep that organization out of the hands of the Communists.

At the time that James Roosevelt joined ICCASP he declared that he had investigated and held numerous conferences regarding the organization's aims and causes and decided that it was his duty to support them.

Since it is apparent now that Roosevelts will admit that they can be taken in by Communists, other people shouldn't feel so badly if a legislative or congressional investigating committee should present findings that certain organizations, which they have been duped into joining are in fact Communist fronts.

The fact that the Roosevelts would walk unsuspectingly into organizations manipulated by Communists should convince other people that they themselves might not be so bright that they wouldn't be misled into joining a group whose front looked all right but whose manipulators are not known to them.

Nor should innocent members of the Communist-front groups be opposed to investigating committees that provide information about such groups.

The best material the Communists have had to work on in this Country has consisted of the sincere progressives who would not knowingly support a dictatorship of Communism nor destroy any of the democratic privileges which citizens of this Country possess.

By declaring themselves to be "progressives," and announcing their wholehearted support of causes in which real progressives believe, the Communists have in the past found it very easy to deceive many, including even the late President Roosevelt, whom they now declare was their ideal.

Today Mrs. Franklin Roosevelt, Sr., is participating in an Eastern Democratic group which intends to keep the Communists out, while other "progressive" groups are being formed under the guiding hand of Communists who claim that they are working for the same things for which Mrs. Roosevelt is working.

The Communist-front leaders in this country are constantly schooled in the methods of controlling the action of groups in which they may be a small minority.

They demonstrate their capabilities in labor unions as well as in political groups and speak in the name of people who are opposed to the Communism for which they stand.

They believe that as they stir up race, religious and class prejudices they can eventually come into control of this Country of ours.

They will never do it if sincere progressives will do their own thinking and not be fooled into accepting the leadership of any persons who hide their real motives behind the "progressive" label.

Congressional and legislative investigations aren't hurting anyone whose motives are good. They are helping those who have been misled into joining organizations about which they were not fully informed.

Congressional and legislative investigations are helping people who want to be as well informed as possible about what the Communists in this Country are up to.

COMMUNIST THIRD PARTY MOVEMENT

It will have been noted that the Communist magazine *Political Affairs* advocates, as part of the current Communist Party line, a third party movement. "The developing third party movement," says the magazine, "should be consolidated under working class leadership and developed as a potent and integral part of the labor-democratic coalition. * * * Authoritative centers should be established to carry on mass educational work. * * * to help direct the mass movement for the third, a people's mass party."

That the Communist Party has already put this part of the "line" into action is indicated by a news item in the San Francisco *Call-Bulletin* for December 30, 1946. The item is from New York and reads as follows:

The possibility of a third party on the American political scene was raised today in the wake of speeches by Henry Wallace and others at a meeting called to organize a new political action group, the *Progressive Citizens of America*.

Formation of the new organization was voted yesterday by 300 delegates from 21 states, representing ten groups with a claimed membership of 15,000. Included were the *National Citizens Political Action Committee*, the *Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions* and eight smaller groups.

Wallace, who was not elected to any position by the delegates, attacked the records of both major parties and asserted:

"Progressives want a genuine two-party country and not a country operated by a fake one-party system under the guise of a bipartisan bloc."

Frank Kingdon, former President of the NCPAC, and Joe Davidson, former Chairman of the ICCASP, were chosen co-chairmen of the new group. Vice chairmen named were Fiorello H. LaGuardia, former Mayor of New York; Phillip Murray, President of the CIO; Paul Robeson, a singer; Alexander F. Whitney, President of the *Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen*; Elmer A. Benson, former Governor of Minnesota, and Fredric March, actor.

An item from the Los Angeles *Herald-Express* for February 4, 1947, indicates rapid development in the Communist movement for a third party. The item is as follows:

Southern California organization of the *Progressive Citizens of America* was put under way today with the arrival of Jo Davidson, the sculptor, in Los Angeles.

The new group is a "merger" of the *Political Action Committee* and the *Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions*.

It was the new PCA that Will Rogers, Jr., Democratic candidate for Senator and Beverly Hills publisher, charged last week is a reshuffling of the same old Communist line-following organizations."

And about that, the bearded Davidson said:

"As for those Communist charges, I suppose every organization has some Communists in it and we are no exception. But our by-laws say we are for democratic reform under the Constitution."

Rogers refused to become a sponsor of the group.

Meeting with Davidson upon the sculptor's arrival here was Robert W. Kenny, former Attorney General, who is a member of the national organizing committee.

Arrangements were made for a mass meeting February 11 at the Embassy Auditorium, when organization of the group will more formally get under way. Davidson and Kenny will be speakers.

"We are out for mass membership," said Davidson. "We are for fair employment practice laws and against poll tax."

COMMUNIST COALITION PARTY STARTS ORGANIZING IN CALIFORNIA

The arrival of Jo Davidson in Los Angeles marked the launching of the program in California for the new "mass movement" coalition third party. Communist strategists had laid the groundwork and the personnel of the organizing committee had already been selected.

Two important spring-boards were prepared by the Communist steering committees late in December. A two-pronged agitational drive was set in motion in February. Both columns were started from 1515 Crossroads of the World in Hollywood. The first was an organizational drive for the *Progressive Citizens of America* held at the Embassy Auditorium in Los Angeles on February 11th and the second was a Communist-inspired *Second Legislative Conference* held in Sacramento February 15, 16, 1947.

The folder announcing the organization meeting of the *Progressive Citizens of America* is as follows:

Yes, we've had enough . . .

that's why we're organizing the . . .

PROGRESSIVE CITIZENS OF AMERICA

The Eightieth Congress has been in session four weeks . . .

We've had enough!

Business recession and unemployment is already starting . . .

We've had enough!

Still no houses—and no housing plan . . .

We've had enough!

Industrial peace is jeopardized by repressive labor legislation . . .

We've had enough!

Minorities are denied basic American rights . . .

We've had enough!

The seeds of a new atomic war are being sown . . .

We've had enough!

Already Organized in 21 States, the

PROGRESSIVE CITIZENS OF AMERICA

Calls on You to Join With . . .

Brig. Gen. Evans F. Carlson

Norman Corwin

John Cromwell

Bartley C. Crum

Joe Davidson

Albert Dekker

Mrs. William Dieterle

Augustus Hawkins

Lena Horne

Gene Kelly

Robert W. Kenny

Dr. Frank Kingdon

Jack Kroll

Thomas Mann

Fredric March

Carey McWilliams

Edward Mosk

Seniel Ostrow

Dr. Linus Pauling

Gregory Peck

Dr. John P. Peters

Paul Robeson

Edward G. Robinson

Dr. Harlow Shapley

A. F. Whitney

Bishop R. R. Wright

In a Southern California Chapter of the

PROGRESSIVE CITIZENS OF AMERICA

To organize the brass tacks of politics in every precinct and in every assembly district! To organize every profession, talent, skill, craft, occupation—to fight for a program of peace, prosperity, and freedom in one world!

Let's Start Together . . .

Tuesday Evening, February 11th, 8 p.m.—

Embassy Auditorium (Ninth and Grand)

Hear Jo Davidson, National Cochairman, PCA . . . Robert Kenny

. . . Dr. Linus Pauling . . . Gene Kelly . . . Carey McWilliams.

Admission Free

Come Early

Nearly all of the organizers of the *Progressive Citizens of America* listed above have been affiliated with Communist Party activities through one or more of the myriad of Communist Party fronts. Evans F. Carlson has been associated with pro-Communist and pro-Soviet movements since appearing on the West Coast. The members of the Legislature do not have to be informed of the pro-Communist and pro-Soviet activities of Albert Dekker or Augustus F. Hawkins. Robert W. Kenny, former Attorney General of California and member of the State Senate, has been the Communist lead-off man for several years past.

The Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities has listed the Communist front affiliations of a number of nationally known Communist fellow-travelers. Dr. Frank Kingdon is listed as being affiliated with two such fronts; Carey McWilliams with 25; Edward G. Robinson with two; Paul Robeson with 34 and A. F. Whitney with 17.

FIRST MEETING PROGRESSIVE CITIZENS OF AMERICA

Alphabetic designations of Communist fronts are equally as interesting as the alphabetic designations of bureaus, boards and commissions. The *Communist Party of the United States of America* long ago was reduced to "CPA." By a slight rearrangement of these letters we get "PAC"—*Political Action Committee* which became part and parcel of the *CIO Political Action Committee* and the *National Citizens Political Action Committee*. A further rearrangement gives us "PCA"—*Progressive Citizens of America*.

It is significant to note that no matter how these letters are rearranged the meaning remains the same—the *Communist Party of the United States of America*.

The initial meeting of the *Progressive Citizens of America* at the Embassy Auditorium in the City of Los Angeles on the evening of February 11, 1947, was, actually, a consolidation of the Communist fronts, the *National Citizens Political Action Committee* and the *Hollywood Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions*. Committee investigators were on hand as observers.

Seven girls occupied tables in the lobby of the auditorium. Each person entering the building was asked to sign a card and was given a numbered ballot containing 133 names from which an executive board for the proposed organization was to be elected. The list was allegedly prepared by Edward Mosk, chairman of the steering committee for the organization, Ben Margolis and others.

Albert Dekker, former Assemblyman, acted as an official greeter. Oscar Fuss of *Workers' Alliance* fame, was actively engaged in some business or other in the lobby. Ben Margolis, within the auditorium, appeared busily at work among those there gathered.

Edward Mosk opened the meeting. A motion picture on the atomic bomb followed. Exterior scenes of the plant where the first bombs were manufactured were shown, followed by scenes within the plant indicating the activity in the actual bomb manufacturing. The City of Hiroshima, prior to the dropping of the first bomb, was immediately flashed on the screen, succeeded by Hiroshima after the bomb had exploded. Then came the dead and the maimed—the makeshift hospitals at Hiroshima.

Thus the theme for the meeting was established.

An individual, believed to be Dr. Linus Pauling, was then introduced. His address was devoted to the atomic bomb and atomic energy. He stated that all nations must now forego individual sovereignty and join in a "one world" organization. He declared that the alternative to this proposal was the destruction of all mankind in the next war. A "one-world" overtone was thus added to the original theme.

John Cromwell, retiring chairman of HICCASP, followed with a short address.

Jo Davidson was introduced and spoke on the purposes of the meeting and the proposed organization of the *Progressive Citizens of America*. He stated that the Democratic Party had sold everyone down the river and had irretrievably strayed from the path blazed by Franklin D. Roosevelt. He admitted that the proposed new organization, the *Progressive Citizens of America*, was already being criticized because of known Communists among its members. He brushed this criticism aside by stating, "We liberals cannot waste time kicking out the Communists. If we did, we would not have time to put over constructive policies." He was not in favor of ousting the Communists.

Bert Witt, of the *Political Action Committee*, made the collection speech. With his war record as a back-drop he drew a picture of the horrors of atomic warfare and what the people of the United States might expect in the next war. He contended that the proposed new organization, the *Progressive Citizens of America*, was designed to protect the people from such a war and that it was the people's only hope. He delineated the proposed political structure for the new organization and stated that it would be broken down into neighborhood groups, door-bell ringing brigades, assembly and congressional district groups and squads, and declared that meetings would be held during the next two years in every available place in all the communities throughout the State. He stressed the economic advantage of merging the *NCPAC* and *HICCASP* under the banner of the *Progressive Citizens of America*, stating that the new organization will be able to accomplish more with less money.

He announced that Yip Harburg, left-wing song-writer and member of the National Committee of the *Progressive Citizens of America*, had sent a check for \$500 to help start the organization on its way. He said that Seniel Ostrow, member of the 1946 County Grand Jury and a Los Angeles manufacturer, had discussed a donation of \$500, but he did not make it clear whether or not Ostrow had actually contributed the money. He then called upon a group of young girls, already provided with blank checks and cigar boxes, to pass through the audience for the collection. As the money came in, Witt announced the amount and the name of the contributor. Albert Dekker was in the forefront with \$100. Final amount collected was announced as \$2,038. (There were approximately 1,400 people in the auditorium.)

Edward Mosk, chairman of the evening, then explained that the ballots already distributed were for the election of an executive board. In addition, nominations were made from the floor and these included the names of Ellis E. Patterson, Father George Dunne, Councilman John R. Roden and Norman Corwin, CBS broadcaster.

This was followed by the introduction of Gene Kelly, who delivered a short harangue on the reasons why people should join the *Progressive Citizens of America*. He then presented Edward Mosk and John Cromwell with a scroll in appreciation of the work that they had accomplished for their respective organizations, *NCPAC* and *HICCASP*.

What was intended as the "big surprise" of the evening followed. Robert W. Kenny's name was placed in nomination for chairman. The nomination was immediately seconded, whereupon, without further ado, Albert Dekker called upon the entire audience to rise signifying that the nomination of the "Great Liberal Leader" was seconded by the entire meeting. He was declared elected.

The former Attorney General came coyly to the stage and appeared surprised and somewhat speechless over his sudden and unexpected elevation to the chairmanship of the new organization. He then *read* his acceptance speech.

Before the meeting adjourned the audience was asked to stand and sing *The Star Spangled Banner*. The National Anthem rang out with a lusty roar for about two lines and died down to an incoherent murmur. *The audience did not know the words.*

The meeting adjourned at 10.45 p.m.

Literature for *World Federalists, U. S. A.* was distributed in the lobby. This literature was apparently furnished by the *World Federalists of Southern California*, located at 568 Chamber of Commerce Building in the City of Los Angeles, as indicated by the impression left by a rubber-stamp on the face of the leaflet. The propaganda is entitled "Demand Your Rights as a World Citizen!" and a note at the bottom of the page states that it is "Reprinted through the courtesy of Campaign for World Government."

The Executive Board of the *Progressive Citizens of America* for the Southern California Chapter is apparently to be composed of 133 members, the number of candidates printed on the ballot. It is to be noted that this list was hand-picked by the steering committee, apparently chairmanned by Edward Mosk and Ben Margolis. The Board of Education of Los Angeles will be interested in learning that Mrs. Blanche Bettington, teacher at *Canoga Park High School*, is one of the candidates.

The official ballot is hereafter reproduced.

OFFICIAL BALLOT

FEBRUARY 11, 1947

ELECTION OF EXECUTIVE BOARD MEMBERS

for

PROGRESSIVE CITIZENS OF AMERICA

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA CHAPTER

NOTE: Make no marks on this ballot until official voting procedure has been discussed and adopted.

A MARK IN THIS BOX CONSTITUTES A VOTE FOR THE ENTIRE SLATE AS OFFICIALLY PROPOSED BY THE NOMINATING COMMITTEE.

Dr. Murray Abowitz
Mrs. Mary Aidlin
Gregory Ain
Sam Albert
Robert Alexander
Mrs. Charlotte Bass
Howard Bey
George S. Behrendt
Margaret Bennett

Jack Y. Berman
Mrs. Blanche Bettington
Edward Biberman
Henry Blankfort
Michael Blankfort
Julian Blaustein
True Boardman
Helen Boardman
Humphrey Bogart

Reuben Borough
Harry Beaverman
Irving Brecher
Dr. Arthur Brower
Abe Burrows
Clarence C. Carlson
Dr. Harold Haskell
Augustus Hawkins
Harold Hecht
Paul Henreid
Rose Hobart
Lena Horne
Mrs. Marie Hughes
Richard Ibanez
Alvin Jackson

Dr. Glen Carlson
Dr. Helen Christensen
Mrs. Margaret Clark
George Colouris
Philip M. Connelly
John Cromwell
Howard De Silva
Albert Dekker
Irwin DeShetler
Mrs. Armand Deutsch
Mrs. William Dieterle
Paul Dodd
Melvyn Douglas
Philip Dunne
Dr. Welles Forde
Kenneth Fulton
John Garfield
Clarence Gibson
Nat Goldstone
Francis Goodrich
Bob Grissell
Harry Grobstein
M. A. Halprin
Lou Harris
Nat Perrin
Irving Pichel
Anne Revere
Fred Rinaldo
Earl Robinson
Edward G. Robinson
Oliver Schwab
Adrian Scott
Jack Shapiro
Mrs. Jean Sieroty
Max Silverstein

Reginald D. Johnson
Charles Jones
Dr. Maurice Kamins
Mrs. Joseph Kaplan
Charles Katz
Robert W. Kenny
Gene Kelly
Howard Koch
Raphael Konigsberg
Emmet Lavery
Simon Lazarus
John Howard Lawson
Mendel H. Liberman
Mrs. Leah Lovell
Betty McCandless

Mrs. George Slaff
Percy Soloty
Milton Sperling
Mrs. Milton Sperling
Mrs. Fraser McDonald
Aline McMahan
Dr. Don MacQueen
Carey McWilliams
Paul Magana
Margo
Ben Margolis
Dean H. E. Marsh
Daniel Marshall
Mrs. Max Mason
Loren Miller
Frances Millington
Sam Moore
Robert Morris
Mrs. Edna Mosk
Edward Mosk
Carlton Moss
Mrs. Esther Nasatir
Dr. Harold Orr
Seniel Ostrow
Judge Isaac Pacht
Mrs. Betty Paine
Oscar Pattiz
Dr. Linus Pauling
Gregory Peck
Marian Spitzer
Mrs. Sumner Spaulding
Lionel Stone
A. H. Sturtevant
Louis Tabak
Shepard Traube

Dalton Trumbo
 Frank Tuttle
 Dr. Chester Van Atta
 Mrs. Charles Vidor
 Bob Wachsman
 Clore Warne

Franz Waxman
 Larry Weingarten
 Mrs. Wm. Wyler
 Keenan Wynn
 Jakob Zeitlin
 Paul Ziffren

Note: There will be an opportunity for additional nominations from the floor.

SECOND COMMUNIST INSPIRED LEGISLATIVE CONFERENCE

In an effort to influence the current session of the Legislature and to attract *innocents* to the Communist party program for the organization of its third party, *Progressive Citizens of America*, a *Second State-wide Legislative Conference* was called for February 15, 16, 1947, at the *California Junior High School Auditorium* in Sacramento. The letter inviting participation for this Conference is as follows:

January 11, 1947

Dear FELLOW CALIFORNIAN: No more important message to the people of California was ever published than the enclosed Call to the second State-wide Legislative Conference, February 15th and 16th in Sacramento. Will you read it and spread its content far and wide? Will you help us mobilize the progressive forces of the State to their greatest and most vital rally in history?

America's great leader, Franklin D. Roosevelt, is gone. The Nation's progressives can no longer be followers. In the critical years ahead they must chart their own course. They must think together and act together in organizing the people for victory.

There should be not less than 1,000 responsible citizens and delegates at the coming Sacramento conference. Will you, as an authorized delegate of your organization, or as an individual, assure us at once that you will be there and, in the meantime, give us the fullest measure of your support?

Fraternally yours,

(S) G. F. Irvine, San Francisco.

(S) Reuben W. Borough, Los Angeles.

Cochairmen, Committee on Arrangements.

This invitation is on the letterhead of the *State-wide Legislative Conference*, located at 1515 Cross Roads of the World, Hollywood, 28, California. C. C. Carlson is listed as treasurer.

A pamphlet allegedly describing the purpose of the Conference states, in part, as follows:

The most powerful and reactionary financial interests of this nation have launched an all-out offensive against the living standards of the American people. Their main drive is to weaken and destroy the trade union movement. The progress of many years of struggle, the enlightened social and labor legislation won under the administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt is in peril of being

wiped out. There is an immediate threat that the Eightieth Congress and the Fifty-seventh Session of the California State Legislature will steam-roller into law repressive anti-labor legislation.

This entire drive of monopoly is designed to create more super-profits at the expense of the purchasing power of the people. High prices, inflated prices have already so reduced the people's purchasing power that the preconditions have been established for a new and more terrible depression, a depression that would make more imminent the threat of another war.

The results of the November 1946 elections have been interpreted by many of the elected representatives of both major parties as a repudiation by the people of the progressive social legislation enacted since 1932. Such officials do not reflect the sentiments of the people. On the contrary, they are echoing the program of America's most reactionary monopoly interests.

The American people must answer the challenge of reaction with a program for continued progress: expanded health services, better education, a more adequate system of pensions for our senior citizens, a tax program putting the burden on those best able to pay, a decent housing program, and protection of veterans' rights.

In issuing this call, the sponsors recognize that there is an imperative need for a state-wide legislative conference and that such conference should also set up a continuations committee to lead the fight for the program adopted. Through such a coordinating committee it will be possible to develop intensive campaigns in every district in California.

The foregoing is signed by G. F. Irvine, Chairman of the Legislative Board of the *Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen*; Mervyn Rathborne, Secretary of the *C. I. O. State Council*; John Cromwell, Chairman, *Hollywood Independent Citizens' Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions*; Noah Griffin, Regional Director of the *National Association for the Advancement of Colored People*; Edward Mosk, Chairman, *National Citizens Political Action Committee* of Southern California; Frank Green, Executive Secretary of the *Progressive A. F. L. Committee for Political and Legislative Action*, and Wilford Howard, Legislative Chairman, *Townsend Clubs* of California.

And, according to the best Communist practices there are the usual number of "sponsors." When a substantial number of Communists and Communist fellow-travelers are found in "sponsors" lists there is little doubt of the Communist inspiration and domination of the organization. The list is as follows:

Ellenore Abowitz, Los Angeles
E. F. Benedict, Crescent City
Reuben W. Borough, Los Angeles
George Campbell, Los Angeles
Rabbi Elliot M. Burstein, San Francisco
C. C. Carlson, Los Angeles
Dr. Glen E. Carlson, Redlands

Irwin De Shetler, Los Angeles
Benjamin Dreyfus, San Francisco
Mrs. Henry E. Erdman, Berkeley
C. M. Gibbens, Los Angeles
Richard Goggin, San Francisco
Daniel Harris, Bakersfield
Augustus F. Hawkins, Los Angeles

Myron Herrell, Hayward
 Norris Helferd, Los Angeles
 Willis Hill, Los Angeles
 Lena Horne, Los Angeles
 Maurice Howard, Los Angeles
 Dr. Claude Hudson, Los Angeles
 Edwin Jobe, Covina
 Rev. Andrew Juvinall, Stockton
 John Howard Lawson, San
 Fernando
 Robert W. Kenny, Los Angeles
 Wendell B. Kramer, Modesto
 Kenneth Macgowan, Los Angeles
 Dr. Don MacQueen, Los Angeles
 Mrs. Elizabeth McCalmont, Los
 Angeles
 Professor C. C. McCown,
 Berkeley
 John McTernan, Los Angeles
 Rev. Don M. Chase, Redding
 Philip M. Connelly, Los Angeles
 Cooks, Pastry Cooks and Assist-
 ants Union, Local 44, San
 Francisco
 John Cromwell, Los Angeles
 Richard S. Otto, Van Nuys
 Louise Darby, San Diego
 Albert Dekker, Canoga Park
 Carey McWilliams, Los Angeles
 Ray Morkowski, San Diego

Harold Orr, Los Angeles
 Pauline Lauber Finn, Los
 Angeles
 Bishop Edward L. Parsons,
 San Francisco
 Ellis E. Patterson, Los Angeles
 Dr. Norman W. Pendleton, San
 Francisco
 George Pepper, Los Angeles
 Professor Hubert Phillips, Fresno
 Ed Reite, San Francisco
 Dr. Frederick Reynolds, Los
 Angeles
 Mrs. Myrtle Rohrer, Los Angeles
 Lester M. Ryan, Tiburon
 Paul Schliff, Oakland
 Paul Schnur, San Francisco
 Roy Sturtevant, Contra Costa
 Albee Slade, Los Angeles
 Rev. Franklin M. Toothaker,
 Oakland
 Rev. Dillon Wesley Throckmorton,
 Modesto
 Mrs. Lois Tuchler, San Francisco
 Western Cooperative Dairymen's
 Union, Fresno
 Mrs. John Whedon, Los Angeles
 Bert Witt, Los Angeles
 Helen Wheeler, San Francisco

COMMUNIST INSPIRED MARCH ON THE CAPITOL

Out of the Communist *State-wide Legislative Conference* held in Sacramento came the inspiration for a march on the Capitol. California veterans and veterans' organizations were totally unaware of the Communist agitation to be launched in their names. The following letter, addressed to sympathetic Communist dominated front organizations, made its appearance early in March:

Dear Friend:

At the State-wide Legislative Conference held in Sacramento on February 15 and 16, the delegates formulated and adopted a housing program. Major points of the report are: (1) A one hundred million dollar State Housing Program to construct permanent rental units to rent for from \$25 to \$30 per month; (2) A thirty-five million dollar appropriation for immediate conversion and construction of temporary veteran housing; and (3) A program against discrimination and restrictive covenants.

The conference further recommended that a State-wide Motor Caravan be organized to meet in Sacramento and press for the passage of this program. At the meeting of the Continuations Committee

on Sunday, sponsorship of the caravan and the date for the caravan were decided upon. The Southern California Continuations Committee has appointed a Housing Caravan Committee to promote and coordinate the work of the caravan. Mr. Harper Poulson was elected chairman and Bill Belton was elected secretary.

We are enclosing the brochure prepared by this committee. Your attention is drawn to the meeting to be held on this Saturday, March 8, at 1 p.m., at the Royal Palms Hotel, 360 S. Westlake Avenue. This meeting is called by the Housing Caravan Committee to further plan and coordinate and give assistance to all participating organizations.

Your attention is drawn also to the date of the caravan—Sunday, and Monday, March 23 and 24. This means that each organization must begin to act immediately if this trip is to be a real success.

Sincerely yours,

(S) Reuben W. Borough
Reuben W. Borough, Chairman

A green mimeographed leaflet accompanied the letter. It is addressed to "Veterans! Labor! Citizens!" Under the heading "Here's How You Can Help Make This Caravan a Success" is the following:

- "1. Drum up interest in your organizations.
2. Sign up cars *now* and start signing up riders.
Get each guy or gal that's going to get five more people.
3. Make it cheap. Your fellow vets, neighbors, and shopmates want you to tell their assemblymen and senators a few things!—They will help . . . get them to contribute . . . a dollar . . . fifty cents . . . a quarter . . . to finance your part of the caravan."

Under the heading "Next on the Program" is the following:

- "(1) Find out who your assemblymen and senators are.
- (2) Let them know that you are coming to Sacramento and you expect them to give you a hearing.
- (3) Bring sleeping bags, cots, and blankets . . . we hope to use the Fair Grounds barns . . . (If you must have comfort and hot water—better make hotel reservations.)
- (4) Elect a caravan committee and let's go!

Send a representative to a preparations meeting:

SATURDAY, MARCH 8, 1 P.M.

ROYAL PALMS HOTEL
360 S. Westlake Avenue

Further preparations:

Keep in touch with Housing Caravan Committee, 625 N. Broadway, MADison 6-3419."

Committee investigators secured a photostatic copy of a letter addressed to Bill Belton (referred to in Reuben Borough's letter as secretary of the Housing Caravan Committee), c/o Harry Brown at the CIO Building, 5851 So. Avalon Boulevard, Los Angeles, California, under date of November 19, 1946. The return address on the envelope was "FTA-CIO, 160 Grand Avenue, Oakland 12, California. Across the envelope was written the following:

"Forward to: Veteran's Service Center, 3d and Broadway, Los Angeles 12."

The letter is as follows:

"Dear Friend:

In your work of organizing during the recent cannery drive you made some contacts with some workers in the steel mill at Niles.

It is very important to the CP that we get the names and addresses of those you contacted in that plant.

It is *very urgent* that these be in to Angie Goularte, FTA office, 160 Grand Avenue, Oakland, Monday, November 25.

Fraternally,

(S) Angie
Angie Goularte"

EXTRACTS FROM THE TESTIMONY OF WITNESSES

The following extracts are from the transcripts of testimony taken before the committee under oath during the past two years. The questions directed to the witnesses by the committee's counsel and members of the committee were designed to establish by the witness' sworn testimony his or her attitude toward Communism and, whether or not the witness followed the Communist Party line without deviation, or rejected it in whole or in part.

The average person, ordinarily, is prompt in declaring whether or not he is sympathetic with or antagonistic to Communism. Demands for precise definitions and qualifications strongly indicate an evasiveness that reveals a sympathetic attitude toward the subject, to say the least. The party line is delineated in this report.

It must be remembered that many non-Communist, patriotic Americans will necessarily approve objectives that are included in Communist Party crusades. There are few independent thinkers, however, who will take the entire Communist Party line at any given time.

JERRY PACTH

Jerry Pacht is testifying before the committee in Los Angeles on January 2, 1946:

Q. (By Mr. Combs): Mr. Pacht, did you attend a convention of *American Youth for Democracy* at Park Manor, 2200 West 7th Street, on Sunday, July 8, 1945?

A. I addressed one of the component parts of that convention, as I understand it.

Q. What component part was it?

A. It was a forum. As I understand it, the convention broke down into small forums during a portion of their proceedings, and I was invited to address one of them. I don't know the name of that particular group.

Q. From whom did you receive that invitation?

A. I presume it was one of the *A. Y. D.* people on campus (*UCLA*) there, but I couldn't recall offhand.

Q. Are you reasonably sure it was somebody on the campus?

A. I don't recall, as I said before, who it was, but I would imagine, because I have no connections or in fact knew of no one in the *A. Y. D.* of the campus people.

Q. Were you ever connected with the *A. Y. D.* yourself?

A. No, I was not.

Q. Or the *Young Communist League*?

A. No, sir.

Q. Or any other Communist organization?

A. Not that I know of.

* * * * *

Q. Did you know that the *American Youth for Democracy* is the *Young Communist League* functioning under another name, but broader and different in purpose than the *Young Communist League*?

A. I had heard such accusations. I have never seen such documented. I might say further that I don't believe that is substantially the fact.

Q. In order to relieve your mind of any doubt on the subject I will show you a publication entitled, *THE COMMUNIST*, which has been identified by the delegates to the national convention of the Communist Party and the present secretary of the Communist Party for Los Angeles County as the ideological magazine for the Communist Party. Have you ever seen that magazine before?

A. No, I haven't.

Q. This is the issue of September, 1943. The article to which I direct your attention is entitled, "Toward a New Anti-Fascist Youth Organization." The article is written by Max Weiss, who is somewhat of an authority because at the time he wrote the article he was the national president of the *Young Communist League*. The article commences on page 792 and is quite lengthy, and it ends on page 805, and, among other things, Mr. Weiss states that the purpose of the convention at which the name was changed was, and I am quoting now, from page 792, "To change the program and name of the Y. C. L. and to broaden its leadership in order to help create a new united anti-Fascist youth organization." That is substantially what I have said, so you need have no doubt on that.

The Chairman: Mr. Pach, had you known it was the *Young Communist League* would you have felt differently about it?

The Witness: I have no feelings toward the organization at all, Senator. I was merely addressing their convention. I was invited to present what they chose to call the returning veterans' viewpoint on national legislation, I believe it was. I don't recall the topic off-hand. That was the question.

The Chairman: Had you known that it was the *Young Communist League* would it have made any difference to you?

The Witness: No, I don't inquire into the political views of any one.

The Chairman: Would it have made any difference if it was the *German-American Bund*?

The Witness: It certainly would.

The Chairman: But not if it was the *Young Communist League*?

The Witness: I don't think there is a distinction to be made. I wouldn't inquire into any one's political views. I knew from my own knowledge that the *German-American Bund* was contrary to all the democratic principles I had been brought up to believe in. Probably I wouldn't have addressed them.

The Chairman: Also true of the Communist Party.

The Witness: I have no opinion about the Communist Party one way or the other.

The Chairman: But it wouldn't have made any difference if it was the *Young Communist League*?

The Witness: No.

* * * * *

Q. (By Mr. Combs): You did mention the *American Veterans Committee*, did you not?

A. I did.

Q. Will you explain just what that is?

A. The *American Veterans Committee* is an organization of veterans of World War II.

Q. Are you a member of it?

A. I am.

Q. How long have you been a member?

A. I believe for about a year.

JUDGE STANLEY MOFFATT

Q. (By Mr. Combs): Your present occupation?

A. I am at the present time an attorney-at-law, a member of the State Bar, and Justice of the Peace of San Antonio Township, Huntington Park. I have just been serving as Municipal Judge by assignment of the Judicial Council for the last four months.

* * * * *

Q. Judge Moffatt, are you familiar with a publication called the *People's Daily World*?

A. I am.

Q. How long have you been familiar with that publication?

A. I think I have been for three or four years, two or three years, anyway.

Q. Are you a subscriber?

A. I am.

Q. How long have you subscribed to it?

A. I would say probably since the first Olson campaign. It was the first Democratic paper in California at that time, supporting the Democratic ticket.

Q. Who is the editor of it, if you remember?

A. I think it was Harrison George.

* * * * *

By Judge Moffatt: May I ask if this is a campaign against the Democratic Party, or what is this?

Q. It is an investigation of subversive activities.

A. Is the Democratic Party supposed to be subversive?

Q. We are talking about the *Conference for Democratic Action*, and both of the sponsors of it were members of the *Communist Party*.

Q. (By Mr. Combs) : Now, Judge Moffatt, did you attend that conference or any portion of it?

A. It seems to me that I did. I am not absolutely sure on that subject.

Q. Let's see if I can refresh your memory.

A. I lived in Fresno for a long time and I may have gone up there to see the folks and incidentally attended a session of the meeting.

Q. Among the recommendations made at the conference, was there a recommendation that the Legislature appropriate \$95,000,000 for the *State Relief Administration*. Do you remember that?

A. I remember that. I was for that.

Q. And it recommended repeal of the Criminal Syndicalism Act; do you remember that?

A. Yes, I was in favor of that, too. It has been very mischievous.

Q. Also recommended that traffic officers, local police or peace officers be prevented from suppressing strikes. Do you recall that?

A. I don't remember that, but I think it would be a good idea. I don't see what right they have to suppress strikes.

* * * * *

Q. Do you know Leo Gallagher?

A. Yes.

Q. How long have you been acquainted with him?

A. I suppose for 10 years or more.

* * * * *

Q. Do you remember a testimonial dinner for Mr. Gallagher down here?

A. Very well, indeed—very celebrated occasion.

Q. Where was it held?

A. At the Wilshire Bowl on Wilshire Boulevard.

Q. That was in June, 1941, wasn't it?

A. I don't remember the date. I remember the occasion.

Q. You attended it, didn't you?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you speak on that occasion?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. In eulogy of Mr. Gallagher?

A. Yes, sir.

* * * * *

The Chairman: You knew, of course, that Gallagher was a Communist?

The Witness: Yes, he was Communist candidate for Secretary of State.

Mr. Combs: He has never denied his affiliation.

The Witness: Not at all . . . I think Attorney General Kenny was one of the original sponsors at that testimonial dinner, by the way.

* * *
Q. Did you ever hear of the *Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee*?

A. Yes, indeed. I contributed money toward it.

* * *
Q. You are sponsor of *American Youth for Democracy*, are you not?

A. Yes.

* * *
Q. By whom was your sponsorship solicited?

A. A pretty good looking young woman came to see me at Huntington Park. I can't remember her name. If you read it to me I think I probably could tell you.

Q. Jeanette Sylva?

A. Probably so. I think she is in the office there.

Q. You think it was probably Jeanette Sylva?

A. Probably so. Is she good looking?

Q. If I showed you her picture do you think you could probably recognize it?

A. Possibly so.

Q. For the record I am showing the witness *People's Daily World* of Friday, November 2, 1945, page 6. I show you a picture which purports to be, at least according to the legend under it, Albee Slade, Albert Dekker, Rex Ingram, Jeanette Sylva, Reuben Borough and Willis J. Hill. There is only one lady in the picture and I will ask you whether or not that is Jeanette Sylva?

A. I can't recognize her from that particular pose.

* * *
Q. Are you familiar with the origin of *American Youth for Democracy*?

A. Not very familiar with it. I know it is one of the chief organizations fighting Fascism in America at the present time, and I think the danger from Fascism is far greater than any Communist danger in this country.

Q. Do you think there is any danger from Communism at all?

A. No.

Q. None whatever?

A. No.

* * *
(By the Chairman):

Q. Don't you think it is suspicious that a group of people should take assumed names and work under-cover to bring about their purposes?

A. No, I think I know why that is.

Q. It must be subversive and criminal or they wouldn't do it.

A. The point is this, these boys who started these organizations have been persecuted. They were persecuted some years ago, for example, when the police of Los Angeles would break the heads of every one who went to a so-called Communist meeting, under the Government of the City of Los Angeles, right up to the time Mayor Bowron was elected. They had a red-squad in this town. They wouldn't tolerate any kind of meeting that had anything to do with any democratic or red aspect at all.

* * * * *

Q. (By the Chairman): Also for the record, you being Vice-Chairman of the Democratic County Committee, and manifesting such deep sympathy for Communist ideology and objectives—

A. That isn't true. I object to that statement.

Q. That would be my impression. I beg your pardon if that isn't true, but at least you haven't manifested any antagonism against it?

A. As I stated, so long as they are adopting Democratic processes and advocating the same things that President Roosevelt advocated and back him up, so long as they are taking that attitude in American life I am willing to go along with them.

CHARLES J. KATZ

Excerpts from the sworn testimony of Charles J. Katz, member of the law firm of Katz, Gallagher and Margolis, follow:

Q. (By Mr. Combs): Mr. Katz, are you a member of the *National Lawyers Guild*?

A. I am.

Q. How long have you been a member of that organization?

A. I think since its inception.

Q. Did you ever hold any office in it?

A. Yes. I was once chairman of the Los Angeles Chapter of the *National Lawyers Guild*. I am a member of its National Committee on Labor Movement. I believe I was a member of its National Executive Board, although I can't remember now.

Q. You still are a member, are you?

A. Yes. I am very proud of my connection with it.

Q. Were you a member of an organization called the *Anti-Nazi League*?

A. I was a member of the *Hollywood Anti-Nazi League*.

Q. About when was that?

A. Well, since a short time after its inception and down through the years of its functioning.

* * * * *

Q. Mr. Katz, how long have you been acquainted with Leo Gallagher?

A. I think I have known Leo Gallagher since he started or since he talked at a law school here. My estimate is I have known him 15 years. And right here and now I think he is one of the finest men living.

Q. You were toastmaster at the banquet given in his honor in 1941.

A. Yes, I was.

Q. The *Hollywood League for Democratic Action* changed its name to the *Hollywood Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions*.

A. I know the latter organization very well.

Q. Are you a member of it?

A. Yes.

* * * * *

Q. Do you subscribe to the *People's Daily World*?

A. Yes, I do.

Q. How long have you been a subscriber?

A. For a number of years. I can't remember exactly.

* * * * *

Q. Did you ever hear of an organization called the *Workers' School*?

A. I think I have, yes.

Q. As a matter of fact, you taught in it, didn't you?

A. I have taught labor relations at a number of places. If one of them was the *Workers' School*, that is it. I know I taught—I guess it was known as the *Workers' School*.

* * * * *

Q. (By Chairman Tenney): I think for the record and for your benefit that we should have a clarification of your position. Are you sympathetic to the Communist Party?

A. I am sympathetic to the objective of any group struggling to protect equal opportunity for social, political, and economic rights for all people; to the extent that the Communist Party does that I am sympathetic to their ends.

SELMA MIKELS BACHELIS

Selma Mikels Bachelis is an attorney formerly connected with the firm of Katz, Gallagher and Margolis. She assisted A. L. Wirin in the defense of B. Joseph Zukas, a Communist, convicted in the Visalia Court for contempt of the Committee. Excerpts from Mrs. Bachelis' testimony follow:

Q. (By Mr. Combs): Are you familiar with an organization known as the *International Labor Defense*?

A. Yes.

Q. Commonly referred to as the I.L.D.?

A. Yes.

Q. What is that?

A. Well, as I understand it, it is an organization that helps in the defense of people who are not able to assist themselves financially and otherwise. It interests itself in cases where there has been discrimination against defendants because of race, color or creed. It helps or did—I don't know if it still is in existence—but at the time I knew it in Los Angeles it helped poor people who could not get any defense or could not get any legal assistance in ordinary cases.

* * * * *

Q. Have you ever represented the *International Labor Defense*?

A. I have had cases referred to me by the I. L. D.

Q. Have you ever represented the *International Workers Order*?

A. No, I have never represented the I. W. O.

Q. Do you know what that is?

A. Yes.

Q. What is it?

A. Well, generally, it is a fraternal organization, as I understand it. It is based on a sort of a policy of insuring members so that they get funeral benefits and benefits for their family if they die, and so on. I am not very well acquainted, but I know it is a fraternal organization with insurance like the Masons, and so on.

* * * * *

Q. Are you a subscriber to the *People's Daily World*?

A. Yes, I am.

Q. How long have you been taking the paper?

A. Gee, I don't know how long.

Q. A number of years?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you take it while you were a student at the *University of California* at Berkeley?

A. No.

Q. You did not?

A. I wasn't very much interested—I didn't know a lot of things.

Q. At that time?

A. I didn't know at that time, for instance, that the paper was one of the few in which you can get all of the news which you can't get any place else.

Q. I agree with you.

A. Both locally and internationally.

* * * * *

Q. * * * Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

A. No, I have not.

Q. Or the *Young Communist League*?

A. No.

Q. Or the *American Youth for Democracy*?

A. No.

Q. Or any other Communist organization?

A. You tell me the Communist organization by name and I will tell you whether I am a member or not.

* * * * *

Q. (By Chairman Tenney): * * * Are you sympathetic to the Communist Party?

A. My answer to that, Mr. Tenney, would be very much the same as Mr. Katz'. There are many organizations in this country, political organizations and political parties, such as the Democratic Party, the Communist Party, organizations such as labor unions, civic organizations of great numbers and varieties.

Q. You must be aware of the fact that I know all of that. I am asking: Are you sympathetic with the Communist Party.

A. May I answer that question in my own way?

Q. I want to know whether or not you are.

A. Just a moment. There are many organizations who fight for the rights of working people; fight for higher wages, and fight for better social conditions; for legislation that will benefit all of the people in this country—and certainly my sympathy goes out to any of those organizations. * * * If the Communist Party is helping to carry on the fight—and my observation has been that it is—for those conditions and for those aims; then certainly I sympathize with its efforts.

MILDRED RASKIN

Mildred Raskin testified that she was the Executive Secretary of the Communist school, the *People's Educational Center*. She testified concerning many of the people connected with the institution and, among other things, stated that the pamphlet entitled "Hollywood Extension, People's Educational Center, 1717 North Vine Street, Fall, 1945" was prepared by Dr. Frank Davis of the *University of California*. Extracts from Miss Raskin's testimony follow:

Q. (By Chairman Tenney): Have you been a member of the Communist Party?

A. No, I have not.

Q. Are you sympathetic to the Communist Party?

A. That is the same question you are asking everybody else.

Q. The same question.

A. I think I can answer the same way the other people answered it.

Q. That you are?

A. I am sympathetic with any group which fights Fascism, which is fighting for the rights of the people. And I am not at all

concerned about labeling things. I just want to know what the end product is going to be.

* * * * *

Q. Are you aware of the Communist origin, domination and maintenance of the *People's Educational Center*?

A. No, I am aware of no such thing.

Q. You have not even suspected it?

A. No, I have not.

DR. FRANKLIN FEARING

Dr. Franklin Fearing has been referred to on a number of occasions in this Report. Following are excerpts from his testimony in January, 1946:

Q. (By Chairman Tenney): Doctor, had you known that (the Communist character of *American Youth for Democracy*) would you have permitted your name to be used as a sponsor?

A. Well, I would permit my name to be used as a sponsor for any organization whose purposes were of the sort which I could agree with.

Q. Well, being a professor in college you are certainly aware that the Communist Party has as its objective the establishment of a dictatorship and knowing that would you still have permitted your name to be used?

A. I am not aware that is true, as a matter of fact.

Q. You are not?

A. No.

* * * * *

Q. Would you permit your name to be used by a Fascist or Nazi group such as the *German-American Bund*?

A. Certainly not.

Q. But you would with a Communist group?

A. It depends on what objectives the group has.

Q. If you knew it was the Young Communist group would you permit your name to be used?

A. It would depend on the occasion. . . .

* * * * *

Q. You are not then unsympathetic to the Communist Party?

A. That is a very vague question. I don't know whether I can answer that.

Q. Let me ask you this: Are you against the Communist Party?

A. Oh, I am against any organization which is for the overthrow of our Government by force and violence.

Q. But you have no knowledge as I understand it that the Communist Party has that as its objective?

A. That is right.

Q. You have no knowledge whatever of Communism and therefore you are not antagonistic to it, is that right?

A. Well, that is only approximately right. I have as much knowledge of Communism as the average so-called intelligent citizen. I am not an authority or a specialist.

Q. Basing your answer on that statement, then, can you say whether you are antagonistic or sympathetic to it from what you know in the same way that the average citizen understands Communism?

A. I am afraid I can't answer that categorically.

* * * * *

Q. What is your definition of Fascism, doctor?

A. Well, that requires a good deal of language, but I can give you a personal definition.

Q. All right.

A. I should say Fascism is a system or philosophy, a social, political, and educational philosophy based upon the assumption of the innate superiority of an elite who by virtue of their superiority have the right to exploit the rest of the population. That is only a very partial definition.

Q. Not knowing anything about Communism or the government of the Soviet Union you would not be able to tell the Committee whether or not that definition would apply to that government and that party?

A. As far as I know it would not apply. But I have never been in Russia and I am not a specialist on Russia.

* * * * *

Q. I think that is all, doctor. I just might observe, however, that it strikes me rather peculiar that our college professors should know so much about Fascism and so little about Communism.

The Witness: Well, I think Fascism is much more of a problem, Mr. Tenney, at the moment. The Communists are a very small group.

BEN MARGOLIS

Ben Margolis is a practicing attorney in the City of Los Angeles, associated with the firm of Gallagher, Katz and Margolis. He formerly was a member of the San Francisco firm of Gladstein, Grossman, Sawyer and Edises. Aubrey Grossman of the latter firm is now the San Francisco Educational Director of the Communist Party. Extracts from the testimony of Ben Margolis follow:

Q. (By Mr. Combs): Did you help organize the San Francisco Chapter of the *National Lawyers Guild*?

A. I would say that I was one of the lawyers who joined in founding the San Francisco Chapter.

* * * * *

Q. Did you ever hear of the *Simon J. Lubin Society*?

A. Yes.

Q. Will you please explain briefly for the record what that was?

A. I don't know too much about the organization. As I recall it, it was an organization having some relation to farmers and organizing progressive farmers. I don't know very much about the organization. I may at one time have been a nominal member by paying dues, but I was never active in the organization.

* * * * *

Q. You were a sponsor of the *Schneiderman-Darcy Defense Committee* in 1940, were you not?

A. That I was, along with men like Wendell Willkie.

* * * * *

Q. How long have you subscribed to the *People's World*?

A. Three or four years.

* * * * *

Q. (By Chairman Tenney) : I call your attention to this fact—I think you probably know it—that Aubrey Grossman has been before this Committee on a number of occasions and on each and every occasion he was asked that question (whether or not he was a member of the Communist Party) and on each and every occasion he answered that he was not. Now we find him in the Communist Party.

A. Sometimes people who are not affiliated with a party become affiliated with the party. They go from Republican to Democrat and maybe some of them to Communist. Those things happen.

FRANK DE LONG

Frank De Long appeared before the Committee in its January hearing in Los Angeles. His testimony in reference to questions asked other witnesses is as refreshing as it is interesting. Excerpts from the transcript of his testimony follow:

Q. (By Mr. Combs) : You were in the Army of the United States, were you?

A. Three and a half years, yes, sir.

Q. In the infantry?

A. Yes.

Q. Honorably discharged?

A. Oh, yes—medical discharge.

Q. Did you belong to the Painters Local that was headed by Mr. Herbert Sorrell?

A. I was transferred over there, yes, sir.

Q. Were there other veterans as well as yourself who were working in that union?

A. I am only one of between four and six hundred veterans; most of them overseas, who got kicked out of the union for no reason whatsoever.

Q. Who kicked you out of the union? Who ordered the expulsion?

A. We didn't even get an answer to that. We were just told we would be paid off at the end of the year and we were through; that Mr. Sorrell wouldn't agree to have veterans or anybody else working in the studio with his men.

Q. Were they as a body of veterans, of which you were, or are, a member, opposed to Communism?

A. One hundred percent. They all just want to make an honest living and be Americans.

Q. And none of you had any sympathy with Communism or Fascism or any other kind of Fascism?

A. I don't think any man who has been in the United States Army or Navy would have anything to do with it.

* * * * *

LEONARD BLOOM

Dr. Leonard Bloom is an assistant Professor of Sociology at the *University of California* at Los Angeles. Extracts from his testimony follow:

Q. (By Senator Tenney): I want to ask you by way of preparation, are you sympathetic at all to Communism?

A. No.

Q. You have no sympathy with it whatsoever?

A. No.

* * * * *

Q. (By Mr. Combs): Did you ever subscribe to the *People's World*?

A. No.

Q. Do you know anything about it?

A. I know that it exists.

DAVID APPLEMAN

David Appleman, associate Professor of Plant Nutrition at the *University of California* at Los Angeles, was also a refreshing witness when it came to answering questions on the Communist Party. Extracts from Professor Appleman's testimony follow:

Q. (By Mr. Combs): Do you have any sympathy with the Communist Party or Communism in general?

A. No, I do not.

* * * * *

Q. You don't subscribe to the *People's World*?

A. No.

* * * * *

Chairman Tenney: Being subpoenaed before this committee is no indication that you are under suspicion at all by the committee. The committee is well aware of the technique of subversive groups in using names of professors and other outstanding people to cover up their own machinations. Your statement that you have no sympathy for Communism or any other totalitarian doctrine indicates

to me, at least, that had you known the Communist origin of these groups, that is, the *People's Educational Center*, you probably would not have lent your name to their activities.

RALPH LEON BEALS

Professor Ralph Leon Beals, associate Professor of Anthropology at the *University of California* was another individual whose testimony was unequivocal, indicating that he was free of Communist intellectual domination. His testimony, in part, follows:

Q. (By Mr. Combs): Do you have any particular sympathy toward Communism, Mr. Beals?

A. No, I do not.

Q. Do you have any particular antipathy for it?

A. Well, as I understand Communism, I do.

* * * * *

Q. (By Chairman Tenney): If you knew, for instance, that the *People's Educational Center*, the *Writers' Mobilization* and the *Writers' Congress* were Communist inspired, executed and dominated, would you then have loaned your name to them and lectured before their groups?

A. That is a hard question to answer. I presume I wouldn't if I had known they were Communist inspired. But I am still to be convinced on—

Q. Of course, I have no objection to that. I think a slight—a very slight investigation will convince you of that fact. But my question is, and for your benefit and for the record—and we have that answer now—that you would not have permitted your name or that of the University to be used as window dressing for a Communist front organization?

Q. That is correct.

DR. DEAN E. McHENRY

Dr. Dean E. McHenry's testimony was direct and emphatic. He is an associate Professor of Political Science at the *University of California* at Los Angeles. His testimony, in part, follows:

Q. (By Mr. Combs): * * * Now, Professor McHenry, are you in sympathy with Communism in general, or do you know anything about it?

A. I am not in sympathy with it and I think I know something about it.

Q. Your testimony is that you do know something about it and that you are not in sympathy with it?

A. Yes, sir.

* * * * *

Q. Are you familiar with the publication known as the *People's Daily World*?

A. I have seen it on the street corners and a time or two I have examined copies of it.

Q. You have never been a subscriber to it?

A. No, sir. Some one sent me two copies once.

HARRY HOIJER

Professor Harry Hoijer is an associate Professor of Anthropology at the *University of California* at Los Angeles. Extracts from his testimony follow:

Q. (By Senator Tenney): Do you have any particular sympathy toward Communism?

A. No, I have not.

Q. Do you have particular antipathy against it?

A. I don't think so.

Q. Have you made any effort to determine what it is and how it functions?

A. I know very little about it.

* * * * *

Q. During the Warner Brothers strike did you visit the picket line as an observer?

A. Yes, on one occasion.

Q. On your own initiative?

A. On my own initiative.

Q. Are you familiar with an organization known as *American Youth for Democracy* * * * Did you ever sponsor any of its functions?

A. I sponsored their last dinner—Salute to America dinner.

* * * * *

Q. If you had known this *A.Y.D.* dinner was a *Young Communist League* dinner would you have permitted your name to be used in connection with that affair?

A. I consider that to be a perfectly hypothetical question. Like Professor Beal said, I find it very difficult to answer hypothetical questions. The purpose of the dinner I was in sympathy with.

Q. Suppose that tonight you receive a call or a letter asking you to sponsor the *Young Communist League* dinner in a salute to American youth who fought in World War II?

A. If the purpose was the same as the one I sponsored, I would sponsor it again.

Q. It would make no difference if it was the *Communist Party*?

A. I do not see any reason why it should. I am not sponsoring the *Communist Party*.

Q. You know nothing about Communism?

A. Very little—only what you pick up in the newspapers, which is very little.

Q. You have had no occasion to study it?

A. No. It is quite outside my field.

Q. But you feel that you are not in sympathy with it, that it is a bad thing?

A. I don't know quite what the word "bad" would mean in that connection.

Q. Suppose you receive a letter from the *German-American Bund* asking you to sponsor a dinner in a salute to American youth who fought in World War II?

A. I think it would be very unlikely I would receive such a letter.

Q. Also unlikely that you would receive such a letter during the Hitler-Stalin Pact?

A. Perhaps. All hypothetical questions, Senator, must be a matter of opinion, it seems to me.

Q. I do not think we are getting anywhere. As I understand your testimony—for clarification purposes—it wouldn't make any difference what the organization was if you thought the purposes were good you would then permit your name to be attached to it?

A. If the organization subscribed to a purpose which I felt within the boundaries of what I considered good in terms of American democracy and things for which Americans stand, I would sponsor that. I am an American, and stand for what Americans stand for—principles of democracy as practiced in the United States.

Q. Do you think the *Young Communist League* stands for those things?

A. I have no idea.

Q. You recognize the deceitful practices of various people for various purposes?

A. I suppose there are such people in the world.

Q. Don't you think the Communist Party represents that group of people?

A. I have no information. I don't wish to answer the question.

GEORGE CAMPBELL

George Campbell is a member of the Los Angeles Local of the *American Federation of Musicians*. In that capacity Chairman Tenney of this committee has known him for about 10 years. He had been one of the Communist "cell" or "fraction" leaders in Local 47 during the hectic period in which the Communists sought to gain control of the union. From 1937 until 1940 the Communist bloc in Local 47 consisted of approximately 65 members directed by John Howard Lawson. Although the Musicians Union of Los Angeles was then composed of around 8,000 members the by-laws of the organization formerly prescribed 75 members as a quorum for general meetings. Like many other *American Federation of Labor* unions, regular meetings are poorly attended by the general membership. When the chairman of this committee was president of Local 47, he found it extremely difficult, on many occasions, to secure enough members for a general meeting. It was observed, however, that the Communist bloc was always present. It was, therefore, an easy matter for the Communists in the local to establish union policy and to adopt resolutions written and proposed by the Communist Party itself.

The chairman of this committee served as vice president of Local 47 in 1937. During the union elections in the fall of that year, he was a candidate for president. Organizing themselves under the usual banner of "progressives," but carefully concealing their Communist identity, the Communist bloc supported the chairman's candidacy.

Mischa Altman, later identified as the chief whip in the Communist bloc in the union, induced the candidate to call on John Howard Lawson. The candidate had never heard of Lawson before and was puzzled as to why a nonmember of the union was thought to be important in an election of the union's officers. Altman drove the candidate to Lawson's home in his right-hand drive Continental Buick.

This interview was very mystifying to the candidate at the time. Lawson questioned him on his social and economic beliefs and generally indulged in considerable double-talk which was then incomprehensible to the candidate. The shroud of secrecy and permeating conspiracy with which Altman cloaked the event served, to some extent, to place the candidate on guard. He was later told by Rena Vale, former member of the Communist Party, that the members of the inner-circle had deliberated for a long time as to whether or not an attempt should be made to recruit Tenney for the party. She stated that it was ultimately determined that Tenney would never accept Communist discipline and therefore he only was to be "used" for as long as possible.

The Lawson interview probably marked the beginning of the candidate's suspicions concerning his "progressive" supporters. His election as president followed in a few weeks. He was immediately deluged with delegations making far-reaching demands that, had they been granted, would have placed the organization squarely in the hands of the Communist Party. A heated interview with one such delegation resulted in a rather bitter quarrel between Altman and one of the members of the delegation. This delegate, who shall remain unnamed, was attempting to extricate himself from the Communist straightjacket and has since withdrawn completely from Communist Party activities. During the outburst that followed, which became extremely recriminatory, the true character of the delegation was made apparent. While the new president of the union knew little of Communism and its ramifications at the time, the revelation that his erstwhile "progressive" supporters were party members came as a distinct shock. Consequently he launched a sweeping investigation of Communism within the local immediately upon attaining office. This resulted in a number of expulsions during his regime.

The exposed Communist cell within Local 47 made a desperate attempt to defeat Tenney for reelection in 1938. He was finally defeated for reelection in 1939 by a small margin. He remains a member of the organization, however, and will soon be a life member.

After Tenney's defeat for reelection to the presidency, George Campbell assumed active leadership of the Communist bloc. He managed to be appointed sergeant-at-arms and that office was elevated to a full time position, although it had never been more than a one or two day job before. He continually maneuvered the local union into the Communist Party line and spearheaded the Communist disruptive assault on the *State Federation of Labor* and the *Central Labor Council* in Los Angeles. Through his activities the local union was finally withdrawn from its affiliation

with the *Los Angeles Central Labor Council* and from the *State Federation of Labor*. During the elections of 1946 Campbell headed a "rump group" in the political field, known as the *Progressive A. F. of L.*, to offset the *United A. F. of L.*, the legitimate, duly constituted A. F. of L. organization. Campbell's group lined up with the C.I.O. *Political Action Committee* and attempted to mobilize support for Communist supported candidates. He has been connected with many Communist front organizations in the past but his value to the Communist Party currently is due to the position he holds with Local 47 of the *American Federation of Musicians*.

As a strongly indoctrinated member of the Communist Party, completely under Party discipline, his importance is measured only by his ability to maneuver the *Musicians Union* into Communist Party channels. He probably would last but a few weeks as Sergeant-at-arms in Local 47 if his affiliation with the Communist Party was actually known to the membership. Consequently he utilizes every possible means to keep his affiliation concealed.

Extracts from Campbell's testimony follow:

Q. (By Senator Kraft): Do you belong to the Communist Party?

A. I do not.

Q. Are you in sympathy with the Communist Party?

A. In order to answer that question I want to get into a conversation with Jack. He is an expert on Communism. I want to know what it is before I answer it.

Q. You have not studied it?

A. I haven't had much time to do a great deal of study, but Jack has. I have known him for many years. I know he has been in there pitching. Jack, may I ask this question: Is the Communist Party, in your opinion, an un-American set-up?

Chairman Tenney: I beg your pardon?

The Witness: Is the Communist Party an un-American set-up?

Chairman Tenney: Notoriously so.

The Witness: Would you say membership in the Communist Party could be secret?

Chairman Tenney: You know that very well.

* * *

Chairman Tenney: * * * Are you in sympathy with what you read in the *People's World*?

The Witness: Not entirely.

Chairman Tenney: Practically?

The Witness: That all depends. You would have to bring out specific things and bring them to my attention.

Chairman Tenney: Are you antagonistic to what you have read in the *People's World*?

The Witness: Well, I don't think I am particularly antagonistic.

Chairman Tenney: No, I don't think you are, either.

CLARENCE ADDISON DYKSTRA

Dr. Clarence Addison Dykstra is the Provost at the *University of California* at Los Angeles.

Extracts from Dr. Dykstra's testimony follow:

Q. (By Senator Tenney): * * * I want to ask you this question, for the record and for your benefit: You have given some study to Communism?

A. Yes, some.

Q. Are you sympathetic to it?

A. Not the slightest degree.

Q. You have no use for it at all?

A. No.

Q. Do you feel it would be a good thing to be brought about in the United States of America?

A. No, sir. As a matter of fact, all the published addresses I have would negate that, and I will be glad to let you see them if you are interested.

* * *

Q. (By Assemblyman Don Field): * * * I am very vitally concerned, as a taxpayer in this State, about a College Professor of a State University being paid out of the taxpayer's money and using the dignity and cloak of the *University of California* at Los Angeles to teach in a Communist Educational Center.

A. I am concerned, about that.

Q. And I would like, at this time, as I asked you then, to know your opinion on that particular subject.

A. So far as I can tell from the reports which I have, that is not what you call a Communist-dominated institution.

* * *

Q. Dr. Dykstra, going back to the question again: I am not concerned whether they had two, or 50, or 200 people at the class. I am concerned with the principle of an American college professor being paid his salary out of the taxpayers' funds of the State, and using the name and the cloak of dignity of the *University of California* at Los Angeles to give a lecture and use the name of the University. Do you sanction that?

A. Of course they don't use the name of the University.

Q. It is printed in the literature.

A. Oh, I understand that the group that invites me to speak promotes publicity on the subject that the Provost of the University is going to speak.

Q. You were not here yesterday, but I heard Dr. Fearing say that he, himself, wrote an article that was printed—as to what he was going to lecture about.

A. I see.

Q. Not only that, but Mrs. Raskin testified that Dr. Fearing helped prepare a prospectus * * * And Professor Davis, at the

time he was Professor out there, did that. I ask you again, do you, as Provost, approve of that?

A. I should like to say this, Mr. Field, that if a Professor of a University can do a service to the State by speaking at various non-educational organizations—

Q. May I interrupt, Doctor? That question is not that at all. That question goes directly to the *People's Educational Center*, which is a Communist school, and is an offspring of the Communist *Workers' School*. Let us confine your answer to that specific question and not to groups like the Rotary Club, churches or anything else.

A. All right. It might be a very good thing for some of those folks to get a lecture by a University professor.

Q. Again, Doctor, you haven't answered the question.

A. I think I have.

DR. FRANK DAVIS

Dr. Frank Davis was formerly an assistant Professor at the *University of California* at Los Angeles. At the time of testifying he stated that he was a consulting psychologist.

The professor distinguished himself as being probably the most discourteous and conceited witness ever to appear before the committee. He had been sought in vain by the Field Committee during its hearings in Los Angeles and only appeared before this committee after his name had been published in Los Angeles County newspapers as being under subpoena. His Communist leanings are clearly indicated by his testimony.

Q. (By Mr. Combs): Did you take any courses from Dr. Gittell?

A. I didn't take any of his courses. I read his book and I was a little appalled at the unpsychological approach he took to race matters. Political scientists I know frequently do that even nowadays. That is no reflection on Gittell's reputation as a political scientist.

Q. Dr. Davis, you subscribe to the *People's Daily World*, do you not?

A. I have from time to time, with a lapse of two or three years when I went without that source of information.

Chairman Tenney: Are you a member of the Communist Party?

The Witness: I will answer that when we come to it. You won't have any trouble getting straight answers from me, but I insist on definition of words you use.

Chairman Tenney: Are you attempting to tell this committee that there is no such thing as the Communist Party?

The Witness: Hell no! Pardon me—this is over the air? No.

Chairman Tenney: I think the question was, had he subscribed to the *People's Daily World*.

The Witness: I answered that. I said there was a period of two or three years I didn't, but now I do again. They asked if I wanted it wrapped or unwrapped, and I said unwrapped. The committee could have learned a lot from me if they had sent their investigator to me directly instead of indirectly.

The Witness: As a matter of fact, I attended a convention in New York City of representatives from similar schools—*California Labor School*. By the way, that came into the record yesterday as one of the Communist front schools, did it?

Chairman Tenney: Yes.

The Witness: Representatives from that; and from the Jefferson School, the Abraham Lincoln School in Chicago, the school in New York, and the school in Boston—all attended a three-day convention to discuss the needs in adult education during the war period; especially as far as winning the war was concerned, and the general education of people about the dangers of Fascism.

Chairman Tenney: Now, go ahead.

The Witness: May I say what I was going to say? I was going to say, is there anything wrong with Communists working for worthy objectives, like those relative to the housing situation?

Chairman Tenney: Communists have one objective, and that is to carry forward Communism.

The Witness: I don't agree with that.

Q. (By Mr. Combs): Have you sponsored fund drives for the *People's Daily World* from time to time?

A. I think I sponsored the last one. I am not sure when they came.

Q. (By Senator Tenney): However, we won't get very far on the subject, because you either don't know much about Communism, or you do and—

A. I know what I read in your report last night, and it said they had elections which led up to the Soviet.

Q. Then I think we can put it to you this way. You are not unfriendly to Communism?

A. It all depends on what you mean by "Communism"—what specific things are "communistic."

Q. Do you know anything about Communism at all?

A. Simply what I have read in various biased accounts and this committee's hearings.

Q. Are you in favor of the capitalistic system as it exists in the United States?

A. There again, Mr. Tenney—I don't like the capitalist system when it leads to mass unemployment; I don't like the capitalist system when it leads to a denial of the rights of free speech, and to a denial of education to millions of our Negro and other minority groups; I don't like the capitalist system—I am using your logic—if capitalism means anti-Semitism—then I don't like it.

Q. Can you, by any stretch of the imagination, say that capitalism means anti-Semitism when many of our Jewish citizens form a big part of our capitalist system?

A. If anti-Semitism and anti-labor propaganda and movements against academic freedom; for example—if they all flourish in a particular capitalistic country, then I would certainly advocate that changes be made in that capitalist country; not the system necessarily—but that changes be made to guarantee academic freedom, to eliminate all racial intolerance and every form of prejudice. I don't call that a speech. I am trying to be clear.

* * * * *

Q. From the evidence presented here, from your testimony—I would say definitely that you are sympathetic to Communism as it exists so far as we know it.

A. That is not justified by what I have said.

Q. You have an opportunity to deny it.

A. Specify the country and give specific communistic practices and I will give you answers yes or no. But not your general questions. Let us put it this way. Do you think literacy in Soviet Russia is a valid topic of discussion? I think the Soviets did a remarkable job of eradicating illiteracy, which was prevalent under the Czars. Call this a speech if you want to. There are sections of our own country—the deep South, portions of California even, where we have a long way to go to achieve the kind of literacy they have achieved in so many sections of the Soviet Union. How's that?

RED UNIVERSITY IN NEW YORK

The committee here parenthetically includes an item that was read into the record in connection with Dr. Frank Davis' testimony. The item is from the *San Francisco Examiner* and, under the heading "Red University Founded in New York" is as follows:

Communists Mask Propaganda Mill with Name Jefferson

The Communists are "adopting" the name of the founder of American democracy in the establishment of a Marxist super university to be known as the "Jefferson School for Social Science."

The school, designed to serve as a national propaganda and "educational" center for Communist doctrines, will be opened February 14th at 575 Sixth Avenue.

UNDER TRACHTENBERG

Although advertised as "a people's university" where "noted educators will provide education of a progressive nature," this reporter learned that all plans for the school and its educational

bent were worked out by the Communist Party leaders under Alexander Trachtenberg, member of the Communist National Committee.

Director of the "Jefferson School for Social Science" will be Dr. Howard Selsam, former Brooklyn College professor, fired two years ago after the Rapp-Coudert committee branded him a Communist.

Numerous "angels" have contributed toward the establishment of the Marxist institution, among them being Frederick Vanderbilt Field, great-great-grandson of Commodore Cornelius Vanderbilt and former executive secretary of the Communist American Peace Mobilization group which opposed United States entry into war until the Germans invaded Russia.

MILLIONAIRE BACKER

A. A. Heller, known two decades ago as the "millionaire Bolshevik," is another "angel." Several years ago he became a backer of International Publishers, the Communist Party's publisher, headed by Trachtenberg.

The new school, it was learned, will be the center for the following propaganda and financing organs of the Communists:

The workers school, formerly the official "educational" institution of the party.

The school for democracy, made up of city school teachers ousted because they were Communists. This group has denied any Communist affiliation. Doctor Selsam is head of this school for democracy.

OFFICIAL ORGANIZERS

Among the Communist leaders and members advertised as official organizers of the new school are:

Dr. Max Yergan, Negro Communist chieftain and president of the George Washington Carver School in Harlem, from which six directors recently resigned because of Communist control.

Lewis Merrill, president of the left wing United Office and Professional Workers of America, C.I.O.

Prof. Henry Schlauell of N.Y.U., identified before the Rapp-Coudert committee as a member of the Communist Party's faction at N.Y.U.

Harry Sacher, attorney for the Transport Workers Union and other left wing unions and a former teacher at the workers school.

Prof. Lyman R. Bradley of N.Y.U., treasurer of the ill-fated American Rescue Ship Mission from which Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt and other sponsors resigned because of its Red affiliations.

LLOYD LEYMANN

Lloyd Leymann is an admitted Communist. He was formerly employed by the *Young Communist League* at a salary of between \$20-\$30 a week. At the time of testifying at the committee's Oakland

hearing in September of 1946 he was the Chairman of the Communist Party of Alameda County. Part of Leymann's testimony has heretofore been set forth in this report.

As a Communist functionary Leymann did not hesitate to admit his Communist affiliation. By systematic evasion to questions he attempted to protect important Communist secrets. In spite of his technique of exasperating evasion, however, he meticulously adhered to the rigid Communist Party line. Extracts from his testimony follow:

Q. (By Senator Tenney): Let's assume—if you want to get it concrete; let's say, suddenly, in this hearing, you decide to say, "Byrnes is following a correct policy at Paris." What would happen to you?

A. I think I would be crazy.
(Laughter from the audience).

* * * * *

Q. You have a lot of people who follow the party line out there. (Indicating the audience). In addition to being crazy you would also be expelled from the Communist Party, wouldn't you?

A. If I would stand up here in the courtroom—well, I think I would recommend my own expulsion.

* * * * *

Q. Let me ask you: Did you ever disagree with Mr. Stalin?

A. Not that I recall.

GEORGE EDWARDS

George Edwards stated that he was the section organizer for the West Oakland branch of the Communist Party. Like all other Communist functionaries he very readily admitted his Communist affiliation.

The following are interesting and significant extracts from his testimony:

Q. (By Chairman Tenney): Let's put it this way: Have you ever disagreed with Joe Stalin on his foreign policy as far as it concerned the United States?

A. Well, on that I would say that the policy of the Soviet government is a policy that would be to the best interest of the majority of the people of the world.

Q. You therefore feel that Byrnes is wrong, is that right?

A. And therefore I do not see how I could do anything but disagree with him.

* * * * *

Q. I am just asking if you recall any time where you were in disagreement with the foreign policy as enunciated by Joe Stalin. You certainly know whether you did or not?

A. Well, offhand, I don't think that I have.

Q. In your opinion, do you think that the policy the United States is pursuing at Paris is a correct policy?

A. My personal opinion; I feel the policy that is pursued at Paris is a drive towards third world war.

* * * * *

Q. * * * One more question: As a Communist, Mr. Edwards, are you an atheist?

A. Am I an atheist? I have never given that much consideration.

Q. You know what Mr. Foster said; no man could be a good Communist and believe in God. Are you in that category?

A. Well, never having seen God, I don't know a great deal about it. I have read the Bible and I don't particularly believe in it.

Q. Do you believe in God?

A. Do I believe in Him?

Q. Yes.

A. I couldn't say that I do.

WAYNE HULTGREN

Wayne Hultgren was a lieutenant in the United States Navy Reserves in command of landing craft during the war. He was a member of the *Young Communist League* before induction into the navy. At the time of testifying in September of 1946 he was section chairman for the Communist Party in Alameda County in charge of the *Estuary* and *Encinal* Communist clubs.

Q. (By Chairman Tenney): Did you get your Communist education in the army?

A. Well, let's see. In the first place, in trying to be a Communist and fight the people's battles—it's not merely a matter of studying for six weeks and then you are a Communist. That is, in my opinion, it's something that is a process, I believe.

Q. It's a psychological conditioning process, isn't it?

A. I certainly wouldn't understand that reference.

* * * * *

Q. * * * Let's get back to this last question: In the event of a war between the Soviet Union and the United States, where would your allegiance lie?

A. What kind of a war?

Q. A war between the United States and the Soviet Union; a fighting war—a shooting war—where would you be?

A. Well, that, of course—I will attempt to answer that. Of course, it is a loaded question.

Q. In the event of a shooting war between the Soviet Union and the United States where would your allegiance be?

A. Well, I said firstly I thought it was a loaded question. Now, perhaps I should change that. Certainly it is a provocative question. It's just the kind of a question that reactionaries ask who want to provoke a war against the Soviet Union. I mean it's a Hitler line.

I don't mean—I'm not referring to you personally right now—but nevertheless, it's plain that's a Hitler line; war against the Soviet Union.

Q. Regardless of what sort of a line it is, where would you be; where would your allegiance be?

A. Well, I think I will certainly try to answer the question, but here it seems to me that's—to use a statement—hung out in the air. Now, do you mean if the Soviet Union actually being a socialist workers country—or do you mean, for instance, a possibility there was a counter-revolution, for instance; if Russia had been taken over and it was Fascist—or do you mean, for instance, a democratic United States, the will of the people presiding—if they were attacked by the Soviet Union; or do you mean if the reactionaries and Fascists succeeded in smashing the progressives—the people in the United States, so we had a Fascist country—and then we were attacked by the Soviet Union? There are any number of possibilities, and I don't know.

Q. Suppose tomorrow the newspaper, the *People's World*, carried a banner line, "Soviet Union Declares War on the United States"—everything existing as it is today—where would your allegiance be?

A. With the United States? That's the logical culmination of the foreign policy; United States declaring war on the Soviet Union.

Q. Let's put it this way—

A. In such an event; it is far too hypothetical for me—but in such event I would exercise my constitutional rights; the constitutional rights that I would have and my legal rights to protest against this imperialist war to wipe out a social state to impose American hegemony over the whole world as Hitler was trying to do.

Q. You are not answering the question. Where would your allegiance be?

A. This is my answer. I would protest with all my legal and constitutional rights, which I believe all the American people would do.

Q. It (war) would be already declared.

A. I would protest with all my constitutional and legal means; but, you see, the catch there—in such event no doubt we would have Fascism imposed here in the United States at the same time; so where would our constitutional and legal rights be under Fascism.

Q. Your allegiance then would be to the Soviet Union?

A. I did not say that.

Q. I do not know what other conclusion—

A. I definitely did not say that. I would protest with all legal and constitutional means against that. Does that answer your question?

Q. No. I asked you where your allegiance would be; where your loyalty would be?

A. No doubt we would all be drafted.

Q. You are evading the question.

A. Well, am I?

Q. Certainly you are.

A. Well, how?

Q. It's an easy thing to say, "My allegiance would be to Soviet Russia" or "United States of America."

A. My allegiance would be to the best interests of the American people.

Q. Even though you had to join Soviet Russia to defeat the United States?

A. Even if I—

Q. Even if you throw your allegiance to the Soviet Union for the defeat of the United States?

A. To the best of my knowledge, my allegiance would be with the American people.

* * * * *

Q. Do you consider dictatorship reactionary or progressive?

A. Reactionary or progressive? I consider the dictatorship—well, just a moment, let's see. Well, of course, in the newspapers which are owned by the big business, you have to be a big business man to own them—

Q. Like the *People's World*?

A. The *People's World*?

Q. It's a daily newspaper.

A. I think it's clear to anybody that looks at it it is not owned by the big business men.

Q. It's probably owned by Soviet Russia.

A. What?

Q. They get money some place, so they must be reactionaries.

A. I have a wallet, you know, and I work; of course, we know where the other papers get theirs.

Q. The question is: Is dictatorship reactionary or progressive?

A. What did I start to say?

Q. Answer the question: Is it reactionary or progressive?

A. It depends upon how you use it; how you use the term. For instance, in Marxist terminology, I believe there is a term "dictatorship of the proletariat." Now, if you are going to cut off—cut the proletariat off from there, it makes it mean an entirely different thing. And so I would say this: That a dictatorship, when we think of it, is one man ruling a country; one man ruling a country against the will of the people. Of course, that's bad. Nobody—

Q. Just like Marshal Stalin?

A. Obviously. That is why I qualified it; because dictatorship of the proletariat, as I think you will admit—if you have read Marx, goes much further. Dictatorship—

Q. What is the difference in the dictatorship of the bourgeois or the proletariat?

A. Well, I haven't heard of the term. I believe I recall having heard of the term "dictatorship."

Q. That's what we have, according to the Marxists in America.

A. That's what we have in America?

Q. Or perhaps what they had in Germany under Hitler would probably be better?

A. I think either one is equally good.

Q. You think there is a difference in dictatorships?

A. I'm not trying to quibble here. It's merely a matter of getting this straight, because dictatorship of the proletariat is a particular term with a particular reference. Now, dictatorship all by itself generally means the rule of one man by force without or against the will of the people, and, of course, I am against that, as I think all Americans are; I'm against that kind of a dictatorship, of course.

Q. Do you see the difference between the dictatorship of Stalin and the dictatorship of Hitler?

A. From your readings of Marx or Lenin, for instance, a dictatorship of the proletariat is quite a different thing from—just from a dictatorship, you see.

FRANK WALTER PARSONS

Frank Walter Parsons, a self admitted Communist, was a very interesting witness. In spite of his Bolshevik theories he is still enough of a capitalist to own a rooming house at 1929 Grove Street in the City of Berkeley. He was the Communist functionary that originally opened the Communist Party book-store on Bancroft Avenue in Berkeley known as the *Twentieth Century Book Store*. Parsons is a native Californian having been born in Redlands and educated at *Stanford University*. Under examination by the members of the committee and the committee's counsel, Parsons was unusually frank for a self admitted Communist. Extracts from his testimony follow:

Q. (By Chairman Tenney): You are still a Communist?

A. Yes.

Q. How are you registered to vote now?

A. Democratic.

Q. But you are still a member of the Communist Party?

A. Yes.

Q. That has been the situation throughout, has it not—where members of the Communist Party—I mean *bona fide dues paying members* of the Communist Party—have registered in other parties, is that correct?

A. That is because they are carrying out the best interests of the largest number of people. It is sometimes the best policy. When I agree with that I go along with it to register as a Communist—as a matter of fact, I was a candidate, you see, so naturally—

Q. (By Mr. Combs) : You had to register ?

A. At other times it's necessary to support the largest progressive movement that there may be without attempting to make any distinction between it and the Communists.

Q. (By Chairman Tenney) : So you shop around and find whatever party you want and you register, and at the same time maintain your registration with the Communist Party ?

A. That's because the Communist Party has two functions : It is a movement for progressive minded people or revolutionary—and also a political.

* * * * *

Q. Do you believe dictatorship is reactionary or progressive ?

A. Again you are going to have to qualify that, Mr. Tenney. Dictatorship of what ?

Q. Let's say dictatorship under Marshal Stalin or dictatorship under Hitler. Do you think those are comparable ?

A. As wide apart as the poles.

Q. You think a dictatorship on the one hand is something and a dictatorship on the other hand is something again ?

A. That's why I said it had to be qualified.

Q. In other words, it depends on what type of dictatorship you believe in ?

A. Whether it's a dictatorship of the majority or an oligarchy or single clique or single person.

* * * * *

Q. Has there been any time during the time you have been a Communist that you disagreed with Stalin ?

A. Yes, I recall I read—it's quite a while ago—I was riding home in the street-car, when I saw the headline of the Nazi-Soviet Pact. My first reaction was a violent disagreement with it.

Q. Did you resign from the Communist Party at that time ?

A. Oh, no, that's not necessary.

Q. You went along for the full 22 months ?

A. Well, I got to work and studied the thing out—as I hope I am a good student of history.

Q. And you ultimately found that Mr. Stalin was right and you were wrong ?

A. I wouldn't say Mr. Stalin; the whole foundation of the Soviet people and the needs of the people of the world.

Q. And you observed during that 22 months, I suppose, that it was a British imperialist war and everything should be done to sabotage America's entry; our efforts to prepare ourselves for war ?

A. The war was, for the most part, an imperialist war previously.

Q. And then—

A. The attack—

Q. As soon as the Soviet Union was attacked, it became a people's war?

A. You put it entirely too sharply. There was a development in history, you know—progressive change; then comes a point, the dialectical point you have been talking about, in which the change is sharp and present, but it's a build-up to that point.

Q. And, presently, you undoubtedly believe Mr. Byrnes and Mr. Truman are all wrong in their stand in the peace conference in Paris?

A. Decidedly.

* * * *

Q. * * * I have noticed among the Communists what I would call an unsportsmanlike attitude. For instance, you will say, I'm sure, that one of the objectives of the Communist Party is this: Your objective as a Communist is the destruction of capitalism. Is that right?

A. The destruction of capitalism? No, capitalism has a tendency to destroy; what we try to do is build the broadest democratic organization possible.

Q. In other words, you're going to do everything you can to destroy capital?

A. Yes.

* * * *

Q. You shouldn't cry to high heaven because you are called un-American while you call your antagonists—the group you want to destroy and liquidate—

A. This is no contest on a sporting field; this is humanity * * * I'm not putting class-struggle on the same pile as a football game.

WILHELMINA LOUGHREY

Wilhelmina Loughrey was a witness before the Special Interim Committee of the Assembly in 1940. At that time she vehemently denied being a member of the Communist Party. Extracts from her 1946 testimony follow:

Q. (By Chairman Tenney): Mrs. Loughrey, are you a member of the Communist Party?

A. Yes, I am.

Q. And you became affiliated about when?

A. Oh, around five or six years ago.

* * * *

Q. Were you ever before subpoenaed before a similar committee such as this—some years ago?

A. I'm not sure whether it was similar. I appeared before a Legislative Committee.

Q. Chairmanned then by Assemblyman Yorty?

A. Yes.

Q. Were you a Communist at that time?

A. No.

* * * *

Q. (By Mr. Combs) : You live in Orinda. Which (Communist) club do you belong to?

A. I belong to a club called the *Southwest Berkeley Club*.

Q. The *Southwest Berkeley Club*?

A. That's right.

Q. Do you attend meetings of the club from time to time?

A. Yes.

Q. When did you last attend a meeting—how long ago?

A. About a week ago.

Q. Where was the meeting held?

A. It was held in someone's home.

Q. Whose home?

A. I don't know. I didn't meet the owner of the home.

Q. Now, in what part of the city was it located?

A. Southwest Berkeley.

Q. On what street?

A. I think the name is Fairview Street.

Q. Fairview Street?

A. That's right.

Q. And which way does Fairview Street run; north and south, or east and west?

A. It runs east and west.

Q. Was it on West Fairview or East Fairview?

A. I don't know. It was on Fairview, that's all I know about it.

Q. How did you know a meeting was to be held at that time and place?

A. I was informed.

Q. By whom?

A. At a previous meeting.

Q. Where was that meeting held?

A. The same place.

Q. The same place? You have been there twice?

A. Yes, I have been there twice.

* * * *

Q. * * * How many people were there the last time you were?

A. I didn't count them.

Q. Give us your best estimate.

A. I should say probably somewhere between 6 and 12—somewhere around there.

Q. Who presided?

A. I don't think anyone presided.

Q. Did you know anybody who was there at all?

A. Yes.

Q. Will you name them, please?

A. Fred Williams was there.

Q. Who else?

A. A number of other people whose names I don't know. I haven't been in this club very long, and apparently various people come and go.

* * * * *

Vice Chairman Dickey: I might observe that all you Communists seem to go around in a fog. You don't remember anything; it's amazing * * * Mrs. Loughrey, prior to the time you testified you swore to an oath. Do you believe in God?

A. That is a question I have been pondering since I heard it asked other people, and I realize it's impossible for me to say as to a question of belief unless I know just exactly what you mean by "God."

Q. In other words, you took an oath to tell the truth, so help you, God. Can't you now testify that you believe in God?

A. I don't know what you mean by "God."

Q. Well, I assume you have read the Bible. I assume as a young lady, a young girl, you received certain Sunday school teaching—I don't think that I have to take the time to elucidate to you who God is and what God stands for; I think you know as well as I do. Now, my question is very simple: Do you believe in God?

A. You see, I'll just have to respond, Mr. Dickey—I'm sorry, I just don't know what you mean by "God."

* * * * *

Q. At the time you took your oath you swore to God you would tell the truth. You must have had some idea who God was.

A. I'm sorry. I think my general understanding of an oath is that it is a legal technicality; when one takes an oath one agrees and promises to tell the truth.

Q. That is what your oath stood for?

A. That's what my oath stood for.

* * * * *

Q. (By Assemblyman Thompson): Who engaged you to run the bookstore, Mrs. Loughrey? (Referring to the Communist *20th Century Bookstore*.)

A. I'm sorry, I don't recall. I was first asked to come in; a number of people discussed it, and the best recollection I have is that the girl who was then working in the shop—her name was Muriel—asked me to come to work.

Q. In other words, you just stepped into the bookstore and took over without knowing who was running it or who owned it?

A. That's right.

FRED H. WILLIAMS

Fred H. Williams is another self-admitted Communist. Excerpts from his testimony follow:

The Witness: Mr. Chairman, before I take the oath, I would like to make the statement I would be classified as an agnostic.

Mr. Combs: Would you rather take an affirmation?

The Witness: Yes.

* * * * *

Q. (By Mr. Combs): When did you affiliate with the Communist Party, Mr. Williams?

A. Well, approximately eight years ago, I should say.

HOLLAND DE WITTE ROBERTS

Holland De Witte Roberts is the Educational Director of the *California Labor School*. His background has been covered elsewhere in this Report.

In view of his denial of Communist Party affiliation, the following excerpts from his testimony are interesting:

Q. (By Mr. Combs): Do you recall a book printed by the—strike that—published by the *Book of the Month Club* entitled, *The Fifth Cell*?

A. Surely.

Q. Did you have anything to do with protesting the publication of that book?

A. Yes, I did.

* * * * *

Chairman Tenney: As a matter of fact * * * the book dealt with a Russian diplomat in Paris, France, and his secretaries, did it not; and showed the action of the secret police of Russia in assassinating these various Russians sent to France—

A. Of course, it's a work of fiction, Mr. Tenney; and it did not deal with any facts, but it was simply an imaginative work of this particular author.

Q. Of course, the facts that have come out in other books would indicate, even if it were fiction, as it were, it was based upon facts?

A. I think you and I would have a good deal of difference in discussing those situations as to just what the facts are with regard to Czarist Russia; with regard to the present regime in the Soviet Union.

Q. I call your attention (to the fact that) it is not Czarist Russia, but *Stalinist* Russia.

A. There is a good deal of background.

Q. As far as the facts are concerned, it dealt with Soviet Russia and its secret police.

A. It deals with the white guard elements in Europe in general, the people who are emigres—

• • • • •

Q. You believe in academic freedom, do you not?

A. I certainly do, Mr. Tenney; and I wish this particular committee did.

Q. We do very much. I am wondering how you reconcile your belief in academic freedom with your protest against the distribution of a certain book with which you disagree?

A. I'm sure, Mr. Tenney, you would agree with me there must be limits set to all freedoms. That's freedom of speech—

Q. That's exactly the position of this committee. I'm glad you brought that out.

• • • • •

Q. (By Mr. Combs): Now, did you ever have anything to do with the *American Youth for Democracy* as an organization?

A. Yes, I think I have spoken before them.

CHARLOTTE PHILLIPS

Charlotte Flanner Phillips is an admitted member of the Communist Party and *American Youth for Democracy*. She was the President of the *University of California Club of American Youth for Democracy* in 1943; as a matter of fact, she was the first president of the Communist youth organization. She stated that she was a member of the *Merriman Club* of the *Communist Party*, the branch that is composed of Communist members from the *University of California*. She stated that the *Merriman Club* branch met at the *University of California Y. W. C. A. Cottage*. Excerpts from Mrs. Phillips' testimony follow:

Vice-Chairman Dickey: Pardon me just a minute. I wonder if you will be sworn. Your name?

• Mrs. Phillips: Charlotte Phillips.

Vice-Chairman Dickey: And do you wish the oath or the affirmation?

Mrs. Phillips: I'm sorry.

Vice-Chairman Dickey: Do you know the distinction? Do you believe in God?

Mrs. Phillips: No, I don't.

• • • • •

Q. (By Mr. Combs): You said you belonged to the *Merriman Club* of the Communist Party?

A. Yes.

Q. That club was named after Robert Merriman, wasn't it?

A. Yes.

Q. Who was Robert Merriman?

A. Robert Merriman was formerly, I believe, in the economic department at the university. I don't know whether he was teaching assistant or a professor, or what.

Q. Well, that's—excuse me.

A. He also was one of the Americans who volunteered to fight in Spain.

Q. (By Senator Tenney): * * * What is your occupation now?

A. I'm a student.

Q. You're a student at the *University of California*?

A. Yes.

Q. About how many Communists do you have on the campus. Mrs. Phillips?

A. I'm sorry, Mr. Tenney, I don't know. I've worked with an awful lot of people on the campus, but I've never asked whether they were Communists.

Q. Your units are kept pretty well separated?

A. I've only worked with small groups.

Q. No Communist knows other Communists?

A. Maybe some of them do.

Q. You don't know too many?

A. I have a great many acquaintances on the campus but I don't know—

Q. Do you consider yourself a revolutionary Marxist?

A. Well, perhaps.

MILDRED BOWEN

Mildred Bowen, the county chairman and organizer of the Communist party for Contra Costa County, testified at the committee's Oakland hearing in September of 1946. Excerpts from Mrs. Bowen's testimony follow:

Q. (By Assemblyman Harold Sawallisch): I show you a pamphlet, apparently mimeographed sheets—four of them, which were at one time clipped together; stapled together, and ask you if you are familiar with them. They show *El Cerrito Club*, Communist Party of Contra Costa County, 358 South 50th Street, Richmond, which is your address, Miss Bowen. Are you familiar with those?

A. It resembles a leaflet which I remember.

Q. Yes. Were those leaflets—what was done with those leaflets?

A. I don't exactly know how they were distributed. They were—the leaflets which resemble that leaflet—were prepared for distribution, but I don't know exactly how the distribution was carried out.

Q. I see. About when were they prepared, do you know?

A. I believe they were prepared around the Fourth of July.

Q. Now, on page two of the leaflet there is a section entitled "The U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R." Do you remember that?

A. I don't.

Q. You don't? Well, I'll read some of it to you and see if you will recall it.

"Every day, in their newspapers, the rich tell you that we'll soon have to fight Russia. Why? Because Russia is the strongest, best organized friend of the common people and enemy of the few rich who want to own and rule the world. The Soviet Union is a socialist country, owned and operated by workingmen and women. The United States, a capitalist nation owned by rich men, still does not have a lot of freedoms, which the Russians have won for themselves. The rich men who own and rule America know that. They don't want you to know it. If you demanded all the benefits now enjoyed by the Russian people, it would mean the end of rich-man rule in America. For instance, prices. Since the war, the cost of living has gone up in the U.S.A. In the Soviet Union, living costs have gone steadily down."

Do you recall that?

A. In a general way. I don't recall the exact words.

Q. The next paragraph is entitled "Some Comparisons." I don't want to read it all, but it reads in part as follows:

"Here are a few other comparisons which are important to people who work for a living: In the United States most of the people work to make profits for a few. In the Soviet Union, it is against the law for one man to make a profit off another man's work. In the U.S.A., except in wartime, we have unemployment. Our economy goes boom, then bust. We do not have freedom from want and because of that, we do not have freedom from fear. In the U.S.S.R. they have full employment all the time. Everybody is guaranteed the right to work. No depressions. They have freedom from want and freedom from fear. In the U.S.A., minorities take a beating. Negroes, Mexican-Americans, Jews, Chinese-Americans, Catholics, Japanese-Americans, are discriminated against in employment, in housing, in other ways. In the U.S.S.R. bigotry and discrimination are against the law. Everybody is free and equal, no matter what his color, nationality or creed. In the U.S.A. you can't go to college unless you're rich enough to pay for it. In the U.S.S.R. any boy or girl who can pass the entrance exams can go to college at government expense. These are all facts which you can check for yourself in any public library. They tell you why the rich men who run America consider the U.S.S.R. their biggest enemy. They can't allow you to have such freedoms in America and still own America."

Do you remember that?

A. As I said before, in a general way.

Q. I see. Do you know where this pamphlet was printed, Miss Bowen?

A. No, I don't.

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Q. (By Chairman Tenney): You could hardly call it an honorable practice to be a Communist and register as a sort of political spy in another party?

A. I'm trying to remember, Senator Tenney, if I ever registered as a Democrat when I was an open member of the Communist Party. I don't believe I did.

Q. You said "an open member." By that you admit that there are concealed members.

Q. It's no secret to anyone that members of the Communist Party do not register as Communists because of their fear of jobs; on account of investigations—witch hunts that go on all the time.

EMMET G. LAVERY

Emmet G. Lavery is a freelance Hollywood screen writer and playwright. He was serving his second term as President of the *Screen Writer's Guild* at the time of testifying. He is a member and a former Chairman of the *Hollywood Writers' Mobilization*. He is also a member of the *Hollywood Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions*.

Howard Emmett Rogers, referred to in Lavery's testimony, is one of the outstanding screen writers in Hollywood. He is further distinguished by his vigorous Americanism and his effective opposition to subversive individuals and groups. He is one of the more scholarly antagonists of Communism and, because of his long study and thorough knowledge of the subject he is a formidable opponent, as many Communists have learned. It follows, therefore, that Mr. Rogers is always a target for attack by the subversive individuals and groups he has exposed. It is obvious that Mr. Rogers would never be welcome in an organization dominated or influenced by Communists or their collaborationists.

In his testimony Lavery referred to the Encyclicals of Pope Leo the XIII. He undoubtedly had in mind the Encyclicals on modern socialism.

Extracts from Lavery's testimony follow:

Q. (By Mr. Combs): You have no sympathy with Marxian doctrines at all, have you?

A. None at all. I have repeated that on many occasions and I am delighted to do it now. Let me say parenthetically that the difference between me and other people in Hollywood is that I oppose Communism in another way. I think the answer to the Communist and Marxian philosophy is to live a better philosophy. Other people go at it differently. That is my theory.

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Q. (By Chairman Tenney): I do not know how familiar you are with Marxian philosophy, but I think you should know, being a writer, that they, (the Communists) hate nothing more than a reformer. A reformer is almost as bad as a Trotskyite, and consequently, to make things better—(while that would be desirable)—would not appease them in their activities for the destruction of our government and its institutions. Isn't that correct?

A. I would be delighted to elaborate the point. Let me say frankly that I take my social essays from the Gospel of the Apostles and not from the essays of Karl Marx. In particular I take my social essays from the Encyclicals of Leo XIII. The Catholic Church has a broad affirmative social program which is rather far-reaching,

very progressive, and very democratic. I believe in it very much. To make it more concrete, my approach to the field of social action is identical with that of people such as Archbishop Lucey of San Antonio, Bishop Haas of Wisconsin, Bishop Shiel of Chicago. They believe and I believe the problem at the moment is to integrate Christian ideals, Catholic ideals, broad virtues of good persuasion in the broad life of a democratic community. I see the only real answer to Marxian Communism is a live, alert democracy which is trying to put in effect its own social program. The reason, frankly, that I, as an individual, have never had any great enthusiasm for popular crusades against the Communist menace is because I personally believe in this town the menace is very small and that if we confine our opposition to Communism to public speeches and public crusades we simply expose ourselves to the dangers that Hitler brought about in Germany where you arbitrarily divide sections of the community, align group against group. You face that futility of trying to decide who is a Communist and who is not and what you mean by Communism. It seems to me the great challenge of the moment is to live a democratic life which offers our people everything they can legitimately desire. And so I have tried to apply myself in my life, in my church, and in my plays, particularly my current play on Mr. Justice Holmes—to which I invite this committee to come when it plays in Los Angeles—I believe the challenge is to get out and work in the market place and live a truly American life. I don't see much good to be achieved by debating generalities, which is very easy, and just saying "Down with Communism."

* * * * *

Q. You recognize Communism as an atheistic evil thing in the world, but you minimize its importance in American life; is that substantially it?

A. Senator, that is almost it, but not quite. Let's take a section of life I know about. After all, it doesn't get us very far if we sit here and discuss what we think is right or wrong about the European situation. We are not on the spot and don't know the facts. But take a small segment of American life that I know something about. I have always said and I shall always insist that Communism in the Hollywood scene is a small and unimportant minority, and the vast majority of people who work in the picture industry are not Communists, have nothing to do with Communism, and have been needlessly smeared in Congress and—

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Q. (By Mr. Combs): Tell me this, Mr. Lavery. When an original application is made for affiliation with the guild, how is that application for membership acted upon?

A. Why, it comes before the Board of *Screen Writers' Guild* and with very few exceptions people seldom have been refused admission to the guild. In other words, we operate on the proposition of everybody belonging, and so do the producers. We are not operating on the principle of trying to keep people out. If a man qualifies for active membership we want him in.

Q. What are the grounds for refusing application?

A. Actually I know of only one case in recent years and that was not pushed through to a final conclusion. I remember Howard Emmett Rogers filed an application for membership in the *Screen Writers' Guild*. The board, at that time, said it would like to talk to Mr. Rogers about his reasons for suddenly joining because for years he went up and down the country telling everybody we were nothing but Communists; so frankly the board had a question about the sincerity of his application. It did not dispose of it finally. It suggested he come to a meeting of the membership committee of the board, but he never appeared at it.

Q. Mr. Rogers is employed by Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer?

A. That is right.

Q. What is his status now?

A. I don't know. I think he is still on the pay roll there. I have no doubt he will be before this committee some time or other. For many years Mr. Rogers has seen Communists under every bed and under every camera. He was an active member in the group defeated in the bargaining election years ago to see who would represent the writers in this town: The company union which the companies favored, or the *Screen Writers' Guild* which the majority favored. Mr. Rogers was defeated in that election. A good many people have since come into the guild. Mr. Rogers filed application for membership which was referred to the board, but he never appeared.

Q. About how long ago was that? When was that application filed?

A. My guess would be a year and a half ago. It was some time back.

Chairman Tenney: Mr. Lavery, is Albert Maltz a member of the *Screen Writers' Guild*.

A. Oh, yes.

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Q. We have said many times, and we say again, your organization has a lot of Communists in it. You know it and I know it.

A. Yes, but—

Q. But we don't say the organization is Communist for that reason.

A. I want to repeat that and I will put it in large letters in the *Screen Writer*.

Mr. Combs: Nor have we called you a Communist.

The Witness: I have been waiting for a long time to get a statement. I see now the Senator's test of a Communist front organization is one which comes into life quickly and is dissolved quickly.

Chairman Tenney: No. Let me give you a full definition. A Communist *front* organization has for its core a group of Communist functionaries who have been indoctrinated in Communist schools. They go out and get good people who don't know anything about its Communist affiliation. They "dress" these organizations with these names. They have used me and they probably have used

you. All right. Then the organization goes along and the good members, the American members, don't pay too much attention to it. The directors run it. The Communist Party tells them what to do and they carry it out. But the test is this: Through their public enunciations they follow the party line. I will be glad if you can show me any time where H. I. C. C. A. S. P. has disagreed with Joe Stalin or the foreign policy of Soviet Russia or the current Communist line—then I will go along with you.

The Witness: On a certain point you will have to amend your definition because at certain times you could prove the Pope himself was a fellow-traveler.

Chairman Tenney: No, Mr. Lavery, I said *consistently*, without deviation.

The Witness: All right. Consistently, without deviation.

Chairman Tenney: The true liberal is this: He will go along with the Communist Party for a long time because invariably they pick out things that form an impact on the public conscience, but occasionally, when they get into conflict with the interests of our own people; say, the foreign policy of Soviet Russia, and the Byrnes policy at Paris, bringing the troops back from China to help the Communist Chinese overthrow the Chinese government—when those things run contrary to the American conscience the liberal has to leave them. The point I am making is that the Communist front organization never deviates from the principles of Marxism or the conscience of Joe Stalin. They follow it very consistently.

The Witness: One point I want to raise with respect to the Senator's definition. Who, short of the Supreme Court at Washington will decide what you mean by "Communist?"

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Chairman Tenney: Would you apply that to Mr. Gerald L. K. Smith and the Fascists? You have already said or agreed that Communism was an evil atheistic thing.

The Witness: Let me correct it.

Chairman Tenney: This Committee says—

The Witness: May I correct the dialogue, Senator. That is your dialogue, not mine. My specific quote was: I am opposed to the principles of Marxist Communism, and I take my social thinking from the Encyclicals of Leo XIII on that question. I didn't use that dialogue. That is yours.

Chairman Tenney: Do you think it (Communism) is an evil thing?

The Witness: I don't think it is a good thing.

Chairman Tenney: Therefore, if it is not good it must be evil; is that a reasonable conclusion?

The Witness: Except that you and I are strange people to decide what is good and evil. I am objective enough, according to Mr. Justice Holmes' philosophy to say the way I was brought up with my faith, both political and religious, I don't believe Marxian Communism is a desirable thing. I don't like it for this country. But to characterize in the world at large what is good and evil, I hesitate to do that. I suppose you could say the basic inference of my

attitude is that Marxian Communism is an evil thing. I hate to sound like a demagogue, "That is an evil thing." It sounds like a Fourth of July speech.

* * * * *

Chairman Tenney: Have you read the present Encyclicals of the Holy Father in reference to Communism?

The Witness: Yes, indeed.

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Chairman Tenney: It is my opinion and I think the opinion of the members of this committee that Catholicism stands today as the greatest bulwark against "Red" Fascism; atheistic Communist encirclement.

The Witness: Yes, but on the European scene that is a terrific over-simplification of the picture. In Europe the struggle in many sections is a struggle between Catholicism and Communism, but it is a Catholicism the like of which this committee has seldom met face to face. I would say the Christian Democrats in Italy and the MPR in France would not have an easy time before this committee. That is a militant, progressive movement, living the encyclicals. That is not a *status quo* system. That is a wonderful kind of Catholicism. This committee should not be under any delusions when it says the clash in Europe is between Communism and Catholicism. Let's face it. The clash is between two very active kinds of faith. That is not *status quo* Catholicism, and people should not get that concept in this country. They should know what kind of Catholicism it is. It is a very militant and progressive kind. Truly, there is only one kind of Catholicism. Don't misunderstand me; but it is a Catholicism that is out in the market place, living the Gospel, living the philosophy of social change. It is not the conservative stay-at-home go-to-church-once-a-Sunday and don't-read-the-Encyclical-Catholicism.

Chairman Tenney: Have you read any pamphlets and books written and published by Father Feely of the *San Francisco University*—his book "Red Fascism"? Have you read that?

The Witness: No, but let me say, Senator, let's get in the record—

Chairman Tenney: I want to try to reconcile what might seem to be at least in the record, a sort of apology for the Communists.

The Witness: No, Senator. I resent that clearly.

Chairman Tenney: Will you clarify that?

The Witness: This is no apology. What I am trying to outline and demarcate for you is the fact that Catholicism is Catholicism applied; it is the Catholicism of Archbishop Sheil of Chicago, it is the Catholicism of Archbishop Lucey of San Antonio, it is the Catholicism of Pope Leo XIII and Pope Pius XII, of Jacques Maritain at the Vatican and the Christian Democrat Von Stertz. Let's get it straight, once and for all. I am not an apologist for Communism. I don't want to define the degree of my Catholicism. I feel it would be presumptuous. But can we get it in the record for once?

I have two plays now in rehearsal at the Vatican. If that doesn't satisfy the Senator I don't know what will.

Chairman Tenney: It does. You have put it in a negative way, and the conclusion is properly drawn that you believe Communism to be an evil thing, but you minimize the activities of these individuals and the strategy and techniques which have been worked out by Lenin, by Stalin—by the outstanding contemporary Communist leaders in the United States for very definite purposes.

The Witness: Let me say this, I think we are much closer right at this moment in this country as well as elsewhere to Fascism than to Communism.

COMMUNIST THOUGHT CONTROL

The committee was interested in learning the details of a plan for "thought control" allegedly originating with the *Screen Writers' Guild* and generally referred to as the *American Authors' Authority*. This plan, it was said, contemplated the creation of an authority which would be a marketing monopoly, copyrighting and leasing to users all writings by American authors. It would include radio and screen scripts as well as magazine articles. The *American Authors' Authority*, if adopted, would become the exclusive agent for all of America's successful writers. It would become an effective club over publishers and other users to employ only authority material. Thus all writers would be forced into the authority and the authority could create a censorship that might effectively stamp out anti-Communist and anti-Soviet material. The proposal appeared in the *Screen Writer* edited by Comrade Dalton Trumbo. The committee has now learned that the plan has been accepted by the *Screen Writers' Guild* and the *Writers' Guild* and that it is currently being considered by the *Authors' League*.

American writers who recognize the totalitarian aspects of the plan embodied in the *American Authors' Authority* have formed an *American Writers' Association* to oppose what they call an "attempt at thought-control of the United States." The writers in the *American Writers' Association* recognize the menace to American literature and realize that the Communists and their sympathizers behind the plan would dictate, not only to the motion picture industry and radio, but to every publication in the United States, thus thoroughly influencing public opinion.

Emmett G. Lavery, President of the *Screen Writers' Guild*, testified concerning the *American Authors' Authority*, in part, as follows:

Q. (By Chairman Tenney): What is this proposal in reference to an *American Authors' Authority*?

A. I would be glad to go into it.

Q. I would like to have a statement about it for the record.

A. The four guilds of the *Authors' League of America* are considering the formation of a project known as the *American Authors' Authority*. It is a simple committee of the whole to represent the four guilds of the *Authors' League* with respect to certain practices in the marketing of original material for the screen, the radio, and for the publishing field. At the present time there are no regulations and no basic agreement which govern the sale of original

material to the screen. Most of the *Screen Writers' Guild* and most of the other guilds of the *Authors League* believe that the time has come to stabilize that situation. We think it can be stabilized by a licensing program; a program under which original material is licensed for stated intervals to the screen rather than sold. That is not a unique departure in the writing field. The *Dramatists Guild* in the theatre has operated under that policy for a long time. Producers in New York literally license plays. We believe that it is time for writers of America to license their material to the screen, to the radio, and to the book publishers.

The *American Authors' Authority* is a plan whereby the four guilds of the league could put into operation this licensing program. The program not only involves the principle of licensing. It also involves the principle of separation of copyrights and the reversion of copyrights. At the present time when a man sells material to the screen the major studios usually require that they be listed as the corporate author of the property, a complete legal fiction, but they insist on it and the writers usually agree. When pictures are remade in Hollywood, as they often are, the original writers do not share in the profits of the remake, whereas in the theatre a man shares in the continuing profits from his play as long as the copyright exists. We think it is a very laudable thing.

Q. Would that mean, Mr. Lavery, that the authority would copyright the production or the work in its own name?

A. There have been various proposals in that respect. In the early discussion of the plan it was proposed that individual authors should assign to the authority as trustee their copyrights in order to clarify and unify the position of the authority in enforcing authors' rights. That is not a hard and fast principle. It is a matter of argument between counsel at the present time. It may well be in the final analysis the individual will hold onto his copyright or there might be a joint trusteeship of the individual copyright and the authority. However it works out, the authority is simply an attorney-in-fact; a trustee, designed to restore to the individual writers so many of his rights which are now held by book publishers, advertising agencies, and motion picture studios.

Q. May I ask this: Would the authority, if it were set up under some plan or another because of the bargaining contract that you have with the publishers, include independent writers?

A. No. That has been discussed in committees both East and West. Obviously, you can see, Senator, that if the authority was to work it would only be good to the degree that everybody was in. In other words, it isn't planned to keep anybody out. This is a plan involving the participation of all writers in all fields.

Incidentally, there is no thought of group control of content of scripts. Let me assure you that writers are a pretty hard bunch to unify from any one proposition from the time of day to the time of night. No guild to my knowledge has ever attempted and could not attempt to bring about group control of content of property. That is simply not an issue in this case. It is a trusteeship designed to

restore to individual writers many of their rights which are now held by other people because it is true the writer has sold them away.

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Q. Who, if you know, originated this idea within your group?

A. Oh, that was on the agenda of our *Screen Writers'* board for a long time. I think, without taking any credit away from Jim Cain—I think I really kicked the ball off in an article in the *Screen Writer* called, "Time for Decision," which was an explanation of the licensing program. But we had a sub-committee which had been considering this project for some time.

Q. Would you mind telling us, if you have no objections, who were the members of the sub-committee, if you know?

A. I haven't got them here, but I can get them and send them to the committee. I think it was either seven or nine people on that sub-committee. We had been discussing it for a long time.

I might point out in passing that when the project was submitted to the *Authors' League Council* in New York recently, they unanimously referred the proposal to the four guilds for study, and took the opportunity of rededicating themselves then and there to the principle that licensing of material is to be preferred to sale, and that separation of copyrights and the reversion of rights are sound principles that we shall all stand for at all times.

Now, I am perfectly well aware that people like Dorothy Thompson and Louis Bromfield have gone up and down the country saying this is a Stalinist plot. It seems to me that everything is a Stalinist plot to those two, no matter who starts it or finishes it. The truth of the matter is, this is a highly capitalistic enterprise designed to put a little more capital into the pockets of writers. It is definitely a capitalistic enterprise, nothing else. Licensing is one of the soundest traditions in American business, as you gentlemen know. The *International Business Machine Corporation* never sells a machine and we think if that is good practice for I.B.M. it is excellent practice for writers, too.

PAUL ROBESON

Paul Robeson is a Negro singer who has been extremely active in Communist front organizations. He has visited the Soviet Union on several occasions; the last time, according to his testimony, during the winter of 1937-38. Earl Browder in his book, *Communism in the United States*, at page 338, made the following statement: "Paul Robeson was greeted in Moscow as an honored guest of the Soviet Union. He sang in the biggest state theaters in Moscow and declared to the newspapers his great pleasure at the comradely reception accorded him in the Soviet Union, the like of which he had received no where else."

Robeson's son spent about four years in Soviet Russia. He was brought to England in 1939 and through the Soviet Ambassador was permitted to attend the Soviet school in London. Robeson stated that he had received, what he called, "a very basic Soviet education."

Excerpts from Robeson's testimony follow:

Q. (By Senator Tenney): Are you a member of the Communist Party? I ask it of everybody so don't feel embarrassed.

A. No. I am not embarrassed. I have heard it so much. Every reporter has asked me that. I will certainly answer it, Mr. Tenney. Only you might ask me if I am a member of the Republican or Democratic Party. As far as I know, the Communist Party is a very legal one in the United States. I sort of characterize myself as an anti-Fascist and independent. If I wanted to join any party I could just as conceivably join the Communist Party, more so today, than I could join the Republican or Democratic Party. But I am not a Communist.

Q. You are not? I suppose, from your statement, I would be correct in concluding that you would be more sympathetic to the Communist Party than the Republican or Democratic Party?

A. I would put it this way: I said I could join either one of them just as well. In order to clear this up; my association with the Communists throughout the world and in America and working with citizen groups—take France, where it is documented; in Czechoslovakia where I visited as a singer; in Norway—I found people over there fighting against Hitler; that the first people to die; the first people to sacrifice, and the first people who understood the struggle against it were Communists. So they were elected to great power in France. I was in Czechoslovakia a year ago singing for American troops. The Czech people are a very democratic people, even in the words of Mr. Churchill. I said they elected the Communists to power. So I have no reason to be inferring Communism is evil or that someone should run around the corner when they hear it, as I heard here this morning, because today Communists are in control or elected by people because of their sacrifice in much of the world. I feel that Americans have got to understand it unless they want to drop off of the planet. They have got to get along with a lot of Communists.

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Q. (By Mr. Combs): You testified a moment ago about a comparison of the Soviet Union and other countries.

A. Yes.

Q. Is it your opinion that in October, 1917, when the revolution had its inception that it would have been impossible to find a better country to test the principles of Marxism than the Russia as it existed under the Czar?

A. No. I would say the best country in the world to test the principles of Marxism might be the America of today, with its wealth and so forth.

* * * * *

Q. Do you feel that the Marxist theory as exemplified in the Soviet Union today is a dictatorship of the proletariat or a dictatorship *over* the proletariat?

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A. . . . I would say today there is no dictatorship by any means *over* the proletariat. They have great faith in it.

* * * * *

Q. You say Mr. Kravchenko was bought off?

A. I don't know. I saw a lot of guys like Kravchenko in 1934, and I didn't know anything about Russia. But I knew they were interested in raising the condition of the peasants and giving life to the common people. Otherwise they ought to get out of there or be shot. He got a lot of them, I am sure.

Q. (By Mr. Combs): Was your son educated in the Soviet Union?

A. He was in the Soviet Union from the time he was 8 until he was about 12; and then as war began, as the rumors of war began in Europe—in 1939; I was at that time living in London—and he came back to London; and as he was in one of the Soviet schools he was allowed by Mr. Maisky, at that time Soviet Ambassador in London, to attend a Soviet school in London; so he continued his Soviet education in London about another year and a half. So he has had what I would call a very basic Soviet education.

* * * * *

A. * * * Now, getting back to the economic thing.

Q. Which you and I were discussing?

A. Which you and I were discussing. One of the reasons the American people it ought to be made to work is because we have the American way of life and they have a dictatorship, and the best way to do it as I said before is to oppose it without democracy. We can oppose this by giving freedom to the people who don't have it in our country. We don't need to go to war to decide which way of life is to be chosen. I believe the Soviet Union wants to build their life within one-sixth of the world's surface where they are.

Q. You mean we should lead by example?

A. That is right. And whatever happens, whatever are the different ways of life, we can solve them within the framework of peace. I think this is guaranteed. I would also make a further point made by Mr. Owen Latimer. It is not much a question of Russian expansion in Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. I knew Benes; I knew Masaryk very well because I sang there. Czechoslovakia is a very democratic country. So the people who owned the Bata shoe industry and all of the industries, they handed the country over to Hitler, so when they came back after the war, the Hitlerism is destroyed, will they take the shoe factories and search around the country in order to hand these factories back to Mr. Bata? No. They hung all they could catch in the square and the rest of them were banished. They have decided to nationalize the industries.

So in England today the Labor Government has a mandate to nationalize the main means of production. So in France the Catholic M.R.P. Party and all over Europe. We face a world different from ours in our economic structure. The only way people can get back on their feet is to nationalize the means of production. There is still plenty of room for private enterprise. If we are going to go to war with Russia because of their national economy, we would have to go to war with every other country in the world. But should we have to go to war with Russia because they haven't got free enterprise? Neither has France or England. This is the reason why the National Committee is in existence, and General Carlson is very

clear about China. Brigadier General Carlson worked with the Chinese Communists and he worked with Chiang Kai-shek. He is convinced if we get out of there it will be settled, and he does not believe the Russians will go in there. Mr. Latimer says it is not so much a question of expansion, but contradiction to a country which has raised millions and millions of peasants. When you come to the question of freedom of speech, take Negroes shot down in the South, if you asked them tomorrow—I said this to Mrs. Roosevelt once, if there was a certain kind of centralized power to enforce this—ask the Negro if he would like to have this shadowy degree of freedom instead of material and actual equality, let alone, as I say, on this question as an average American. Ask the man who works for the newspapers. Ask him if he believes it. In private he says so, but if he goes out and says so he has no job. It seems to me to be a very shadowy freedom. Freedom is a very relative thing.

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Q. You testified a moment ago about a comparison of the Soviet Union and other countries.

A. Yes.

Q. Is it your opinion that in October, 1917 when the revolution had its inception that it would have been impossible to find a better country to test the principles of Marxism than the Russia as it existed under the Czar?

A. No. I would say the best country in the world to test the principles of Marxism might be the America of today, with its wealth and so forth.

* * * * *

Q. Do you feel that Marxist theory as exemplified in the Soviet Union today is a dictatorship of the proletariat or a dictatorship over the proletariat?

A. You have brought up two questions. I will go to the first question and quarrel with whether Marx thought it was the perfect type.

Q. (By Chairman Tenney): By perfect type I think we had better modify it by saying highly industrialized.

A. I am coming to the point. As a matter of fact, you know one of the great breaks among the Marxists was that a lot of what I would call doctrinaire guys—you see it so happens, according to Marx, in the highest industrialized areas which these Marxists feel was Germany—so the Russian revolution did not exist.

Mr. Combs: I remember.

A. This was very extraordinary. So I would say no; that Marxist conditions were evolved where proletarians were strongest in aiding the peasantry in Russia, and led to one great struggle. But the peasant party of Spiradinova felt it should lead the peasant uprising. I think that is one of the weaknesses of Mr. Nehru in India of its peasants leading. It was Lenin who had to practically restate Marxism in order to justify that position or explain why it happened in Russia because by far from being the strongest link, it was the weakest link. So O.K. Today I would say

no. Having been in Russia, never having met Mr. Stalin, and never having been made over as some other visiting artists, like Heifetz—I wasn't carried around on anybody's shoulders (laughter)—but talking to many of the artists, talking to many of the people—I went in 1934, and I said to a Russian friend of mine, I just talked to a lot of intellectuals, "What are these people doing in Russia? They should get out of here or something will happen to them." It did a few years later because they had no faith in the potentiality of the Russian people.

By Mr. Combs: What happened to them?

A. They were purged. They had no faith in what had to be built. It comes very close to home, the Negro problem mostly.

Q. Their purging would be comparable to lynchings in this country?

A. No. Their purging would be comparable to the shooting of Mr. Schaet in Nuremberg, Mr. Tukashevsky in Russia, and others, who would have handed Russia over to Hitler. I would say today there is no dictatorship by any means over the proletariat. They have great faith in it.

Q. You are familiar with the organization originally known as the Cheka. You have heard of them, haven't you?

A. Sure.

Q. The first head of the Cheka was a man by the name of Menzhinsky?

A. I have heard, but I don't know.

Q. He was replaced by Djherzinsky.

A. Yes.

Q. He was replaced by Colonel Yagoda.

A. Yes. I have heard of him.

Q. And he was replaced by Yezhov.

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Each and all of those gentlemen were purged, weren't they?

A. O.K.

Q. They were shot?

A. That is right.

Q. They were the heads of the entire structure of the Russian Internal Secret Police, were they not?

A. O.K., that is right.

Q. Now, in a country where the ruling forces of government has the power to put those men in office, it is peculiar that in each and every instance they would select traitors?

A. No, it is not peculiar. It is no more peculiar today than would happen in a democracy or the way Great Britain did where MacDonald was given a mandate by the Labor Party and completely sold the British people down the river.

Q. They didn't shoot him.

A. That is right. But the French Government would have shot him during the war. The Czechs would have shot him during the

war. The Norwegians, nice people, would have shot him. They shot Quisling • • •

EDGAR G. BROWN

Edgar G. Brown is the director of the *National Negro Council*. He testified that he has held this position for seven years. He stated that the organization is interested in legislation in Congress assuring the country's 13,000,000 Negroes their constitutional rights.

Brown is also a member of the *National Association for the Advancement of Colored People*. He testified that the Communist Party had attempted to infiltrate and control the *National Negro Council* and the *National Association for the Advancement of Colored People*. He stated that his own organization, the *National Negro Council*, was so firm in its allegiance to the United States Government and to the Constitution that attempts on the part of Communists to infiltrate it had been futile. The *National Negro Council* is on record opposing Communism, he declared.

He testified that he had known Paul Robeson and his wife, Essie, for many years.

Q. (By Mr. Combs) : Do you have any opinion as to what extent Mr. Robeson represents the colored people in this country ?

A. This is the first time we have ever heard of his activity other than as a singer.

Q. (By Senator Tenney) : Mr. Brown, does he represent the Negro people in these activities, in your opinion ?

A. No. I don't think he has been authorized to represent them. There has never been any convention that I know of ; and I certainly would know of it because we are very much concerned with those matters. He has never spoken before our organization ; he has never spoken before the *National Association for the Advancement of Colored People*, to my knowledge ; he has never spoken before the National Convention, which represents 2,000,000 Negroes. We went down and laid wreaths on the graves of those persons who were lynched at Monroe, Georgia ; he was not there then, he wasn't at the convention at Philadelphia that endorsed this program to see about the Federal anti-lynching law. He wasn't at the Elks convention at Buffalo, where there were 20,000 Negro people in a parade that took five hours to pass a given point. He did not speak there. He did not speak at the *National Association of Dentists and Physicians* in Louisville, where they also endorsed this anti-lynching law. I have appeared before all of the important Negro organizations. I spoke at 150 organizations. In fact, only two weeks ago I was out here in California and I had an engagement I had to fill back in New York, and I had an engagement here at the *American Legion* Convention and I had to come back to California. But he was not there, to my knowledge.

Q. A Congressional committee investigating un-American activities listed Mr. Robeson as a member of 34 Communist front organizations. The impression may have been left in the minds of some people listening to Mr. Robeson's testimony that Communism was rather rampant among the Negro people of our country.

A. I think that is a big lie; the biggest lie. Pardon me for interrupting you, Senator.

Q. Go ahead.

A. We don't want the world to get the impression that the colored people are not 100 percent loyal to this country. I think they are now as active as any one. I have fought for the anti-lynching law and I have fought to stop the discrimination in the Army and the Navy and to have the Constitution enforced. All of the Negroes are fighting for the good name and loyalty of the Negro people. We are convinced that this is the best system—the American system; the United States of America, and I say to you that 99 9/10ths percent of all Negroes not only believe that, but they do not believe in the Communist front or anybody having any belief in that because they are Christian people, and I think Christianity is synonymous with democracy.

* * * * *

Q. (By Senator Dilworth): It seems to me rather odd that Mr. Brown does not get any applause; while yesterday when Mr. Robeson made some of his pro-Communist remarks he received a good deal of applause.

Mr. Combs: Maybe we haven't the right type of audience for Mr. Brown.

A. I am not looking for applause. What we want is to have tolerance. That is what we are all doing, Republicans and Democrats alike. On the domestic policy we are interested in protecting all citizens; every citizen and his constitutional rights. That is about the essence of the whole thing.

* * * * *

Q. (By Senator Tenney): We have here, Mr. Brown, a bulletin of the N.A.A.C.P., Volume 1, No. 1, October 1, 1946. I notice in it a so-called political advertisement of Arch Brown, who is a Communist functionary in California and a candidate for Governor in a write-in campaign.

A. I think I can explain this situation. That many of us who have supported the *National Association for the Advancement of Colored People* for many years disagree very violently with the present plan. In their convention in Cincinnati, which I did not concur in, I was not in agreement with, they went on record to participate in politics. They threw over their traditional party of non-partisan activity. I am sure they will do great harm to their 37 years of activity. In my judgment they will lose the confidence of the better colored people.

ELLENORE ABOWITZ (BOGIGIAN)

Q. (By Mr. Combs): Mrs. Abowitz, are you a member of the (Communist) Party?

A. No, I am not.

Q. Did you affiliate with it?

A. No.

Q. I will ask you the same question for the record and you can simply answer, of course, as you wish. Is it not a fact that you were recruited in the Communist Party in 1937 by Paul Cline?

A. No, sir.

Q. Did you know that Paul Cline was a member of the Communist Party?

A. Oh, certainly he was the head of the Communist Party in Los Angeles. That is how I met him.

Q. Is it not a fact that you were affiliated with Branch 59 of the 16th Congressional District; a section of the Communist Party?

A. I am sorry.

Q. You say you are sorry?

A. I say no.

Q. Of which your present husband, Dr. Murray Abowitz, was once secretary?

A. I have never heard of such a thing.

Q. Is it true that you once resided at 450 North Sycamore Street?

A. I still do.

Q. Is it a fact or is it not that your Communist Party name was Margaret Petos?

A. I am sorry; the name is unfamiliar to me.

Q. That is not a fact then?

A. I say the name is not familiar to me.

Q. Yes, but I have to get a categorical answer into the record, either affirmative or negative.

A. Oh, no.

Q. Did you ever know a man by the name of Oliver Thornton?

A. Very well. Oliver Thornton was publisher of the *United Progressive News*, which was a newspaper that was begun in 1935, I believe. Reuben Borough was the editor of that paper. I understand, however, that both Mr. Borough and Mr. Thornton had been previously associated with another paper in 1934, and I met both of those gentlemen back in 1935 when I first went into the *United Progressive News*.

Q. You worked on the paper in conjunction with Mr. Thornton, did you?

A. Mr. Thornton, Mr. Borough, Mr. Gardner, Mr. Weingardner and a number of other people.

Q. Fred Gardner, was that?

A. Cleve Gardner. There are a lot of other people.

Q. I understand. Of course, we are interested in just only a few.

A. Yes.

* * * * *

Q. What sort of work do you do in connection with the *Hollywood Independent Citizens Committee*?

A. I would like very much to tell you about that because I know that this legislative committee is primarily interested in hearing from the citizens of the State for the purpose of making better laws for the protection of the people of this State and for the progress of this State.

The *Hollywood Independent Citizens Committee* is, as you know, an organization of the arts, sciences and professions. It is affiliated with the *Independent Citizens Committee of Arts, Sciences and Professions*, a national organization, the executive chairman of which is Harold Ickes.

We are naturally interested in legislation which is helpful to the arts, sciences and professions. For instance, in the last session of Congress a bill was introduced which is known as the National Fine Arts Bill. We are also very much interested in the formation of a civic center plan, for the better cultural advancement in the United States. We are also very much interested in a bill for a national science foundation, which would allow the government to spend a certain sum of money for the purpose of advancing a scientific foundation of the United States.

Unfortunately, due to the fact that the campaign intervened this year, the *Hollywood Independent Citizens Committee* has not really put its mind to suggesting certain kinds of legislation for the State Legislature which would be of help to the cultural development of this State, but I assure you that after the campaign is over, because we are now very busy in the campaign, after the campaign is over we intend to draw up some legislation which would be something like the National Fine Arts Bill. We are also very much interested in a nation or state-sponsored radio program which will help the people of the State to understand what is going on in the Assembly and in the State Senate.

I am very sorry that you have not invited more people here from the *Hollywood Independent Citizens Committee* who could give you an idea of the kind of work we do.

* * * * *

Q. (By Chairman Tenney): You have a member in the Assembly during the legislative sessions, don't you?

A. Unfortunately no.

Q. Do you have access to the services of anyone in the Assembly?

A. Mr. Dekker, our Assemblyman from the 57th District, who is also on the Board of Policy, was very helpful. He sent me the Daily Journals and those things. You know what those Daily Journals are. They are very difficult to make anything out of. I understood that there would be a representative of the *Hollywood Independent Citizens Committee* in Sacramento, but there never was enough money for him.

* * * * *

Q. (By Mr. Combs): Those three persons (Carl Winter, James Stapp, Max Silver) are functionaries in the Communist Party in Los Angeles County, isn't that a fact?

A. Max Silver, I am sorry—unless you want to put it this way—I don't want to say this too bluntly; I am just trying to help you. I presume that some of the men are Communists in the State of California. For instance, I know William Schneiderman. I know Paul Cline, I know Max Silver. I don't know just what his title was, but he was the next in line to Paul Cline in the Communist Party in Los Angeles County. I have met Peter Perry who was some kind of officer.

Q. You mean Pettis Perry?

A. Pettis Perry. That is right. If you want more names like that you can refresh my memory with the officials of the Communist Party and I would say that probably I knew three-fourth of them in Los Angeles and I did know now and do know Bill Scheiderman.

Q. Did you know Jack Moore when he was secretary?

A. No, but I went to school with Jack Moore.

Q. When was that; where was that?

A. In Long Beach. I went to school in Long Beach.

Q. When did you first become acquainted with Mr. John Howard Lawson?

A. I had heard a great deal about John Howard Lawson for many years before I met him. I did not meet him until I went to work for the *Hollywood Independent Citizens Committee*. He is on the board there.

Q. You mean on the Board of Directors?

A. Of the *Hollywood Independent Citizens Committee*. That is right.

* * * * *

Q. (By Chairman Tenney): Don't you think that the people connected with this *Independent Citizens Committee*—I am talking about the Americans in that organization, would have an entirely different conception of the organization if they knew that you actually headed the Communist political commission in California?

A. I will tell you something very interesting about that. First of all, I don't know what you mean when you say "Americans." And it kind of bothers me a little, Senator.

Q. Do you think Communists are American?

A. I think that all people who were born in the United States of America or who have been made or who are naturalized citizens of the United States are called Americans. The thing that bothers me about the way you use that word is it sounds suspiciously like the remark of Gerald L. K. Smith, in which he would actually say that an American is only a white Christian.

Q. Will you defend it?

A. It so happens that I am a Christian, and it also so happens that you do not have to be a Christian and white in order to be an American.

Q. I quite agree with you.

A. You do?

* * * * *

Q. Have you ever passed a resolution in your organization condemning Communism? I know you have passed a resolution condemning Fascism and Nazism.

A. You mean a resolution by itself?

Q. Yes.

A. I do not think there has ever been a single resolution passed in that organization at a membership meeting or any other meeting saying "That we, the *Hollywood Independent Citizens Committee*, condemn the *Communist Party of the United States*." And I will tell you the reason for that, if you want to know it.

Q. Yes.

A. The reason for that is that the general feeling—and I certainly do not want to give you the impression that I speak for all members of the board because I am not authorized to do so, and this is purely my personal opinion and feeling about it from listening many times.

You had better excuse me because I can run on forever.

Our theory is that in these days the immediate danger to our form of government—and I have talked to all kinds of people, Republicans, Democrats, Conservatives, and they will all agree on this thing—that the immediate danger to our form of government is Fascism. I am not an economist and I do not have good enough memory, unfortunately, and I cannot give you all the facts and figures about where all the money is, in a few hands. You know better than I do, as a matter of fact, what the salaries are, and with inflation coming on, it is already here, the people with less money in their pockets and they cannot buy their needs, that that makes for dissatisfaction.

Q. May I say, Mrs. Abowitz, I know that line pretty well. The thing I am getting at—and I do know because we have a report on it—a resolution was offered at one of your meetings condemning Communism along with Fascism and the proponent of the resolution was booed off the floor.

A. No. Ours is the most polite organization that ever existed. No, we never boo in our meetings. We are always polite.

Q. Can you show me any difference between the *Communist Party* line as expressed in the policies, resolutions and activities of the *Hollywood Independent Citizens Committee*—at any time, have they disagreed with Stalin?

A. I am frankly ashamed, Senator, that I am not as keen as you are on what the exact line of the *Communist Party* is. I don't know what the Stalin line is. I am not a student of foreign affairs, for which I am ashamed, so I couldn't possibly say that we do or do not.

ANNETTE CIMRING

Mrs. Annette Cimring stated that she was one of the editors of a letter issued from time to time called "*The Action Letter*." The Committee had recognized the Communist character of the letter and subpoenaed Mrs. Cimring in connection with it.

Extracts from Mrs. Cimring's testimony follow:

Q. (By Mr. Combs): Will you tell us what it is (*The Action Letter*), how it originated, and what its purposes are?

A. *The Action Letter* is a legislative bulletin which comes out every two weeks. The purpose of *The Action Letter* is to inform people of what is going on, mainly in national affairs—along national lines, and to make certain recommendations to those people. It is a legislative service.

* * * * *

Q. How was *The Action Letter* financed?

A. *The Action Letter* was originally financed by myself. I started it with my own money and then people subscribed and paid \$1 for a year.

* * * * *

Q. Who is the other editor?

A. The other editor is T. K. Wright, who is my husband.

* * * * *

Q. About how much of a circulation do you have now, Mrs. Cimring?

A. We have a circulation of about 710.

Q. Is that confined purely to Los Angeles County?

A. No; it is all over the United States.

* * * * *

Q. Upon what charge were you arrested?

A. It was the day that I understand some 453 people were arrested. We were in the picket line. My understanding was that was why we were arrested.

Q. You were engaged in peaceful picketing at the time, were you?

A. That is right.

* * * * *

Q. How did you happen to go out there?

A. I had been reading about the strike and I had also heard that they were asking people to come to see what was going on out there and so I went out and I became very enthusiastic at the way things were going and I joined the picket line and went out there as a result of that.

Q. Did you join the picket line voluntarily or were you requested to do so by some one else?

A. No. I joined voluntarily.

Q. Do you know whether or not the injunctive order regarding pickets was in effect at that time?

A. It may have been. I was not aware of it at the time.

Q. Did you ever subscribe to the *People's World*?

A. I subscribe to a number of papers and among them is the *People's World*.

Q. How long have you subscribed to that paper?

A. About four or five years.

* * * * *

Q. Did you ever join the Communist Party?

A. No.

* * * * *

Q. (By Chairman Tenney): Mrs. Cimring, when you were arrested, what were you charged with?

A. I think we were charged with illegal picketing. I guess that is what it was. But the charges were dismissed.

* * * * *

Q. Are you sympathetic to the Communist Party?

A. It depends.

Q. Are you going to give me that same speech now? Do you want me to define it again?

A. No, I don't want you to define it. I will tell you what I am sympathetic to and I will tell you why I am sympathetic to it. *The Action Letter* has been for democracy. We believe in three kinds of democracy. Economic, political, and social democracy, in the United States. And one of the reasons I am so firm in my belief in these things is because my husband had a family of 50 members in Poland. They were all kinds of people. I don't know what their political faiths were; I know nothing about them and have had no connection with them. When the Nazis came into Poland 48 of those people were killed, two of them were left living, one was rescued by the Red Army. And I have a very definite interest in what is going on and I have very firm and very definite views about those things.

Q. What has that to do with your sympathy for the Communist Party?

A. It has nothing to do with it. I am opposed to Fascism.

Q. Are you opposed to Communism?

A. No, I am not. I am neither opposed nor am I a member of the Communist Party.

* * * * *

Q. Can you point out one instance in which you deviate from the policy of the *People's Daily World*?

A. I cannot answer yes or no.

* * * * *

Q. You cannot tell the committee any place where the policies of your *Action Letter* differs in any way from the *People's Daily World* policy?

A. If the *People's World* policy agrees with our policy then I would say we agree with it; if it does not, then we disagree.

TED ELLSWORTH

Ted Ellsworth is the Business Representative of the *Motion Picture Costumers Union*. He is a member of the *Hollywood Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions* and a former member of the Executive Board of the *Hollywood Democratic Committee*. Ellsworth's testimony, in part, follows:

Q. (By Senator Tenney): Are you a Communist?

A. No, I am not a Communist.

Q. Are you sympathetic to the Communist Party?

A. Mr. Tenney, as everybody else that you have asked that question of has said, they don't know what you mean, and I don't know what you mean.

Q. That is all.

A. May I finish the answer? May I finish answering the question, please?

Q. You have answered it.

A. May I finish my statement?

Q. If we are going to get the same line from you that we have gotten from the other witnesses—

A. I don't know what line you are talking about.

Q. I am not going to define it. If you don't know what it is, you certainly cannot say anything about it.

A. May I finish the statement or may I not?

Q. Do you want to answer the question?

A. I am answering the question.

Q. Are you sympathetic with the Communists?

A. I am not sympathetic with the Communist Party entirely; and if you mean to ask if I am sympathetic with certain actions of the Communist Party, I am. They backed the FEPC and they backed Roosevelt. I backed the FEPC and I backed Roosevelt.

NORVAL CRUTCHER

Q. (By Mr. Combs): Have you ever visited in John Howard Lawson's home?

A. Yes.

Q. When were you last there?

A. I don't remember. It has been some time ago. As I recall, I went to a New Year's Eve party out there two or three years ago.

I went to a New Year's Eve party, and I have been there at other times, and I don't recall in the last two or three years of being out there.

Q. In 1945 it is a fact, isn't it, that on alternate Saturday afternoons during the summer of that year you attended meetings at John Howard Lawson's home at two o'clock in the afternoon?

A. No, that is not a fact.

Q. It is not a fact?

A. No.

Q. Isn't it a fact that on or about the 13th day of January, 1945, which was on a Saturday, you did attend a meeting at John Howard Lawson's home with Elizabeth Leach Glenn, William Pomerance, Carl Winter and George Pepper?

A. I don't recall it.

Q. Is it your testimony that you did not attend such a meeting?

A. My testimony is that I don't recall it.

Q. Is it or is it not a fact, and if you don't remember, please state so for the record, that on June 16, 1945, which was on a Saturday, at two o'clock p.m., you also attended a meeting at the residence of John Howard Lawson at which there were present, besides yourself, Madeline Rathburne, already referred to as the wife of Reuben Borough, Elizabeth Leach Glenn, Sam Moore and George Pepper?

A. I don't recall it. What year was that?

Q. 1945. Last year.

A. I don't recall it.

Q. You don't recall it?

A. No.

Q. Is it your testimony that you did not attend such a meeting?

A. My testimony is I don't recall attending it.

* * * * *

Q. (By Chairman Tenney): I think, Mr. Crutcher, in fairness to you and because of our records and other records; I want to ask you a few questions and give you an opportunity to answer them. We have information that you are a member of the Communist Party; we have your Communist Party name or alleged Communist Party name—and we want to give you an opportunity to say whether or not you are, or have ever been, a member of the Communist Party.

A. O. K. I can say that I am not and have never been. As far as the name is concerned, I know the name which has been kicked around ever since I started fighting Browne and Bioff.

* * * * *

Q. * * * I am trying now to give you this opportunity to make a statement here, which should be clean-cut, if you want that opportunity.

A. I appreciate that, Mr. Tenney. I do want to make a statement. I am afraid you will say it is a stock answer. I am not too acquainted or familiar with the program of the Communist Party. I have not seen, in the six years that I have been called a Communist, because of my activities against Browne and Bioff, anyone who raised their voice at any time and disagreed with the powers that be, whether a labor union here or any other place, they are immediately branded as being a Communist. * * * Therefore, the com-

mittee is welcome to draw their own conclusions concerning me, but with the experience I have had in the last 10 years I am not and cannot indulge in Red baiting of any kind, and you can draw your own conclusions on that.

* * * * *

Q. (By Mr. Combs) : Do you know Frank Green?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you go to his home on the evening of March 31, 1945, at 360 North Sycamore Drive, at which time there were present John Howard Lawson, William Pomerance, your wife, Min Selvin; and where you discussed the motion picture strike and heard a lecture from Carl Winter, who had just returned from New York?

A. Not to my knowledge, no. I have been to Frank Green's house, yes.

Q. Were you there about that time?

A. I don't know. I have been there several times.

Q. Is it your testimony that you did not attend such a meeting?

A. My testimony is that I don't recall, sir.

IRVING SEIGER

Irving Seiger testified before the committee in Oakland, October 31, 1946. He gave his occupation as a student and "also a member of the CIO." His testimony is very interesting:

Q. (By Senator Tenney) : Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

A. No.

Q. Are you sympathetic to Communism?

A. I believe in certain American principles.

Q. We're not talking about certain American principles. We are talking about Communist principles.

A. If the Communist Party happens to believe in a program that I believe in that's O.K. with me.

Q. Well, do they?

A. In some instances, yes.

Q. You feel that the Communist Party is a good organization in America?

A. I feel that any attempt—I feel that the Communist Party—

Q. Will you answer the question, Mr. Seiger?

A. The Communist Party is a legal organization in this country.

Q. You think Communism is good?

A. I think that's a ridiculous question.

Q. I don't care what you think about it. Do you think it is good?

A. I think a program for America is good. If the Communist Party supports a program which to my mind is for the best interests of the American people that's O.K. with me.

* * * * *

Q. Do you subscribe to the *People's Daily World*?

A. That's right. * * * I also subscribe to the *San Francisco Chronicle*, a paper of big business.

CLEOPHAS BROWN

Cleophas Brown testified that he is a laborer employed by McGuire & Hester, contractors in Richmond. He stated that he was the President of the Richmond branch of the *National Association for the Advancement of Colored People*.

The controversy over the method to be utilized in swearing him in as a witness is interesting. Extracts from his testimony follow:

Q. (By Senator Tenney): Do you want the oath or the affirmation?

A. Whatever you do; you're running the show.

Q. Do you believe in God?

A. Whatever you want to do about it.

Q. Do you believe in God?—I think we should explain to the witness—and all other witnesses—that under the Constitution of the United States you have the right to take an affirmation or an oath. The Constitution provides that a person may believe in God or they may not believe in God as they wish. There is nothing wrong in not believing in God under the Constitution of the United States. If you do not believe in God, you may take an affirmation, and if you do believe in God, you may take an oath.

A. It's up to the Committee; up to the gentlemen.

Q. It's up to you.

A. Whatever is your procedure.

Q. Do you believe in God? Then I will know what to do.

A. Well, I want to keep that to myself—whether I want to believe in God or not.

Q. Of course. Either is legal. You have the privilege of taking an affirmation; the Constitution provides a person may affirm or take an oath, whichever you care to do. However your conscience dictates; your belief is your own personal business.

A. That's right. I don't want to reveal that here.

Q. Whichever you want you may have.

A. It doesn't matter.

* * * * *

Q. (By Mr. Combs): Did you see the article in the press where some local county's unit of the NAACP did endorse Mr. Brown's candidacy as a Communist Party candidate for Governor, and was criticized for so doing by the National Regional office?

A. We have been criticized from our national or regional on actions taken by our branch.

Q. Has your organization—that is, I mean in Contra Costa County—has it been active in working for his (Archie Brown's) election?

A. Working for whose election?

Q. Archie Brown?

A. Well, members of the organization, yes.

Q. They have done that, however, independently?

A. They did it because it was recommended by the membership of the organization.

Q. Well, now, in what manner was that done; by vote or how?

A. Well, after discussion on the candidates.

Q. Oh, I see. What you mean, in other words, a general discussion?

A. At the membership meeting it was decided.

Q. In other words, there was a general discussion as to all candidates, and as a result the membership recommended the support of Mr. Brown and the members supported him?

A. Yes.

* * * * *

Q. (By Chairman Tenney): I forgot to ask you whether or not you are a member of the Communist Party.

A. You forgot to ask me that?

Q. That's right.

A. How did you happen to forget?

Q. Just an oversight.

A. I'm testifying now?

Q. Yes.

A. I'd rather not state what organizations I'm dealing with.

Q. Your answer is you refuse to testify or answer the question?

A. I wish to explain I'm not a member of the Communist Party, but I do feel like the Communist Party—there is a lot I noticed in the platform of Archie Brown and I agreed quite a bit with the issues he mentioned—housing people. I agree with that program, but I'm not a member of the party.

Q. You are not officially affiliated with the party?

A. But I'm thinking seriously of doing it.

Q. Your testimony is you are sympathetic to the Communists?

A. That's right; I'm sympathetic to the Communists.

JOHN ELI HUGHES

John Eli Hughes is a resident of Richmond and a painter by trade. He stated that he was employed, at the time of testifying, in "working in an effort to beat the reactionaries; helping the people's movement put up a real fight against the reactionaries that are trying to take the political power away from the people." Extracts from his testimony follow:

Q. (By Mr. Combs): Are you a member of the Communist Party?

A. I have been in the past, yes.

Q. When did you first affiliate with them?

A. I don't even remember that.

Q. How long ago?

A. That I don't know.

* * * * *

Q. Did you affiliate directly with the party, or did you join the *Young Communist League* first?

A. That I don't know which I joined first because——

Q. And have you ever been——

A. ——because I was first in one thing and then in the other.

Q. You have been a member of both organizations?

A. Naturally.

* * * * *

Q. (By Mr. Combs): Did you resign from the party?

A. Well, you know my experience in the party; it's kind of a technical thing; either you belong or you don't belong—and you get behind in your dues, you're—and don't take care of your business, you don't belong.

Q. That is your situation: you fell behind in your dues?

A. I fell behind in my dues, yes.

Q. So your membership automatically ended?

A. Yes.

SYLVAIN SCHNAITTACHER

Sylvain Schnaittacher is a self-alleged instructor in the *California Labor School* and the Director of the Oakland branch. He attempted to conceal his nervousness by an attitude of belligerent facetiousness. His testimony, in part, follows:

Q. (By Chairman Tenney): Are you a member of the Communist Party?

A. No, I am not.

Q. Are you sympathetic to the Communist Party?

A. Now, that's a funny question; and I'm going to answer it in a funny way: There are a lot of different opinions you get, for instance, Mr. Jack Galvin, the publisher of the *Independent*, told Congressman Miller he was sure I was a Communist, and a few weeks later Mr. Galvin implored me to put over a civic bond issue in Richmond, so this convinces me the subject of Communism is one I don't know too much about.

Q. You don't know anything about it?

A. I wouldn't say I don't know anything; I'm dealing with political matters in the school, and I am in the *Labor School*.

Q. Teaching politics?

A. But whether or not I'm sympathetic with the Communist Party is a doubtful question in this place because of the various

interrogations. I have heard so many different opinions I'm afraid that categorically, "Yes" or "No," will be liable to misinterpretation. If you want me to prepare a written statement, I'll be happy to.

Q. We're used to this routine.

A. You are—is it routine?

Q. Do you subscribe to the *People's Daily World*?

A. Yes * * * I subscribe and read the *People's Daily World*; it's a good paper.

Q. (By Vice-Chairman Dickey) : Did you ever hear of Mildred Bowen?

A. Yes.

Q. Have you met her?

A. Yes, I have; I know them all, Tom and you, Jack, and all of them. I know all the political figures from the Reds to the rats.

ROY RAYMOND NOFTZ

Roy Raymond Noftz was a former state officer of the Communist Party's organization of the unemployed, the *Workers' Alliance of America*. He frankly admitted that he was a member of the Communist Party and had been for many years. He is probably the most courteous Communist who ever appeared before the committee. Extracts from his testimony follow:

Q. (By Chairman Tenney) : You consider yourself, Mr. Noftz, presently under the discipline of the Communist Party?

A. Oh, yes.

Q. You feel that—in your position as a Communist; of course, you would take any assignment given you by the Communist Party officials—you would undertake—

A. Assignments are not handed out that way. They are taken under consideration, and we agree to them, or, you know, otherwise. I can't do everything; you have certain qualifications.

Q. We both think we can say we know something about the Communist Party. However, if your superiors should assign you a task, you would have to undertake that task?

A. I would either undertake it or give a good reason for it. I'd do that in any organization I belong to.

Q. And if they insisted and you should refuse to carry out the task, you would then be subject to expulsion?

A. Well, subject to expulsion with the right for appeal all on up to the national convention.

Q. But you would be expelled until the national convention?

A. The same as I would in my union if the constitution said I should do something or I shouldn't.

Q. What union do you belong to?

A. The machinists in Richmond.

Q. You have read "*Leninism*" by Stalin?

A. I have read—I am not what you call a student.

Q. Do you adhere to the Communist philosophy and program?

A. That's right.

* * * * *

Q. Your activities then as a Communist are sort of in your local community?

A. That's right.

Q. You do those tasks that you can do?

A. That's right.

Q. Those too burdensome or for some physical or other reason you can't perform you are excused from doing those things?

A. That's right. For instance, I have not been active in any of the political campaigns of late because I underwent an operation last June.

Q. We have had Communists testify before the committee that they have been excused from some of the arduous tasks placed upon them because of ill health and so forth?

A. That's right.

* * * * *

Q. What I'm getting at is this: the Marxian theory is the contention that in society there is a continual conflict between the capitalist class, on the one hand, and the working class on the other. Is that right?

A. That's right.

Q. That's a historical fact according to Marx?

A. That's right.

Q. Now, there are two branches of Socialism. One contends that Socialism is inevitable whether people did anything about the situation or not—

A. Yes.

Q. And the Communists take the attitude that they must intensify—take the attitude that they must bring about the revolution.

A. Well, I couldn't put it into those words that Communists intensify the action. We certainly can't sit by and just wait for the revolution, as you put it, to come. In other words, when issues arise, we are there, either on one side or the other.

Q. That's right; and you are always on the one side.

A. Naturally; on the side of the workers.

* * * * *

Q. Your literature; your directives; everything in your Communist program calls upon you to intensify the day-to-day conflict for the ultimate purpose of establishing the revolution, in which

you and the Communist Party act as the "vanguard of the proletariat"—for the overthrow of the government by force and violence?

A. We don't have to intensify the struggle; capitalists do that.

• • • • •

Q. (By Mr. Combs): Now, you remember an organization known as the Control Commission?

A. The what?

Q. The control commission.

A. Control commission?

Q. Yes.

A. Do you mean within the party?

Q. Yes.

A. They have the control commissions within the party.

Q. I beg your pardon.

A. We have control commissions within the party.

Q. What is a control commission?

A. Well, that is the commission that hears any charges that one Party member may have against another.

Q. Well, if a Party member has a charge against another Party member, then those charges can be presented and determined by the control commission?

A. No, the control commission handles the case first, but every Party member, before he is subject to expulsion or anything like that, is entitled to a trial by a trial committee other than the control committee or commission.

Q. I want to find out what the control commission is.

A. Well, just like many other organizations, for instance; in my union we don't always prefer charges against a member even if we find he's doing something detrimental to the union; we might drag him up before the executive board where the thing may be threshed out, and he may see the error of his ways and correct them. That's the function of a control commission.

Q. Of a control commission?

A. Yes.

Q. Now, how is a control commission appointed in a section?

A. Well, I don't know. I have never been on a section committee.

Q. You have never been on a section committee?

A. No.

Q. How about a branch?

A. Well, the branch don't have a control committee; that's a county function.

Q. Would a club have a control commission under the Party set-up now?

A. No.

Q. Where would the control commission be; with what subdivision of the party?

A. In the county organization.

Q. In the county organization. What do you call the county organization?

A. Well, in Contra Costa County, we have a number of clubs.

Q. Yes.

A. So Mildred Bowen is the county organizer; the county committee and so forth.

Q. You call the county organization simply the *Communist Party of Contra Costa County*, don't you?

A. That's right.

Q. All right. How many members are on a control commission?

A. That I couldn't tell; that's determined—in a large county it may be more; in a small county, less, or whatever the situation is.

Q. Are they elected in the county?

A. I don't believe so.

Q. Who appoints them?

A. Now, you say elected. Do you mean by the membership or county committee, or what?

Q. No, I mean by the membership.

A. What the ordinary practice is, I really don't know.

Q. Have you ever served on one?

A. No.

Q. —of any kind?

A. No.

Q. Have you ever been before a control commission?

A. No.

Mr. Combs: That's all—but they still have them.

A. Oh, yes, sure.

* * * * *

Q. (By Chairman Tenney): You couldn't very briefly tell us, could you, Mr. Noftz, what is meant by centralized Democracy?

A. Democratic centralism?

Q. Yes.

A. I'm afraid, Mr. Tenney, on order to go into that, you're getting into something deep. I'm not a teacher of Marxism to get that.

* * * * *

Q. Mr. Gouzenko says the Comintern still exists. . . .

A. As I understand, it's a delegation of power; the same as in any ordinary organization. In other words, the lower bodies elect

to the next, and the next, and the next, and then you have your democratic representation there.

* * * * *

Q. At this point I think we should have in the record—I don't think we have touched on it:—and that is that the theory of democracy within the Communist Party is predicated on the principle that the Communist party is a group of people of one mind, motivated by the principles of Marxism, Leninism and Stalinism.

A. Oh, yes, certainly.

Q. Consequently, when the Communists are referred to as being democratic, it means a unity of philosophy of basic principles, and anyone, of course, who violates those basic principles in thought and deed, excommunicates himself from the party and, although not belonging to the party; not having that centralized principle of conduct is on the outside of the "democracy" (of Communism)?

A. They're usually the liberals that get way out on the wrong track.

Q. And they become Trotskyites and Lovestoneites?

A. I doubt very few Trotskyites were in the party.

Q. I think if it hadn't been for Mr. Trotsky there wouldn't be a Soviet Union.

A. We have a difference of opinion.

Q. Don't you admit he was the genius of the military army?

A. No.

Q. Who was?

A. Stalin.

Q. Of course, if you didn't say that, you'd be excommunicated.

A. No, I wouldn't. Indeed not.

Q. You wouldn't?

A. No. But even many people who are not Communists have recognized Stalin's ability and the part played—the military part he played in the revolution.

"LAND OF THE SOVIETS"

On February 18, 1947, Mrs. Alice R. Brennan, a member of the Board of Education for the Glendale School District, addressed a telegram to the committee requesting an investigation concerning the use of a textbook entitled "*Land of the Soviets*."

The author of the booklet in question is Marguerite N. Stewart, secretary of the *Institute of Pacific Relations*. It is edited by Maxwell S. Stewart.

RECORD OF MAXWELL S. STEWART

At page 157 of the *Red Decade*, by Eugene Lyons, the committee finds the following:

"Maxwell, one of 'The Nation's' editors, returned from a visit to the Soviet Union during the slaughter years with glad tidings for friends for the executioners. He had learned, and now transmitted the news solemnly, that the blood purges were really an expression of new Soviet democracy. The masses, he explained, were now killing off unpopular leaders; cleaning house, so to speak. Discontent which 'had been festering for some years' now 'only belatedly made itself felt * * * the motive force of the purge has come almost exclusively from below'."

At page 249 of the "*Red Decade*" Eugene Lyons lists Maxwell S. Stewart's name with others justifying the Communist purge in Russia.

At pages 348-349 (the "*Red Decade*") : Maxwell S. Stewart is listed with such outstanding Communists and fellow travelers as John Howard Lawson, Langston Hughes, Dashiell Hammet, Haakon Chevalier, etc., as a signer of two letters (one containing 400 signatures and the other containing 150) whitewashing the Moscow trials and purges.

The reports of the Special Congressional Committee investigating un-American activities enumerates various activities of Maxwell S. Stewart. See pages 375, 518, 568, 876, 2512, 2515, 3072, and 4928. Appendix Volume 10, XXVII; Appendix 1, page 809; Appendix 5, pages 1681 and 1684-F.

The record shows that Mr. Stewart has been connected with *Friends of Soviet Russia*; *American Society for Technical Aid to Spain*; sponsor of the *American Youth Congress*; Associate Editor of "*The Nation*"; chairman of the *American Friends of the Chinese People*; member of the executive board of "*China Today*"; Associate Editor of "*The Moscow Daily News*"; member of the *Friends of the Soviet Union*; member of *China Aid Council of the Legion for Peace and Democracy* and National Chairman of the *American Friends of the Chinese People*. (All of these organizations are listed in the Congressional Reports, as well as in the reports of other legislative investigating committees, as Communist front organizations.)

Maxwell S. Stewart and his wife taught at the Moscow Institute in Russia.

Mr. Stewart has praised "Soviet marriage and morals." In 1931 he was an "economist" for the *Foreign Policy Association*. He has been connected with tourists parties to the U. S. S. R. under Soviet auspices. He was a National Committeeman for *Friends of the Soviet Union* and for the *American League Against War and Fascism*. He was a signer of a letter addressed to President Roosevelt urging recognition of the Soviet Union.

The anti-Communist American Social-Democrat paper, the "*New Leader*," in its issue for November 1, 1941, states that Maxwell S. Stewart was a member of the Editorial Board of "*Soviet Russia Today*," and that he had endorsed the Hitler-Stalin pact.

The foregoing brief sketch of Mr. Stewart's activities indicate his attitude on things Soviet and Communistic.

PROPAGANDA IN CALIFORNIA'S GRADE SCHOOLS

The booklet "*Land of the Soviets*," itself, is the best evidence of its propaganda-slant and purpose.

The Library of Congress in 1946 compiled a booklet entitled "*Communism in Action*" which purports to be "a documented study and analysis of Communism in operation in the Soviet Union." This pamphlet may be said to be the most authentic source available in the United States on the "*Land of the Soviets*." It may be said to be America's best "peek" behind Russia's Iron Curtain.

The following is not intended to be an exhaustive analysis of the pamphlet "*Land of the Soviets*." It is believed that the several extracts, taken at random, together with the comparisons from the aforementioned "*Communism in Action*" will suffice to indicate the brazen propaganda character of "*Land of the Soviets*."

The following is from page 6 of "*Land of the Soviets*":

"As we know, under the capitalist system, property of all kinds may be owned by private individuals or commercial organizations, and all business is conducted primarily for the profit of the owner. If a man cannot succeed in making a profit, he is likely to go out of business. In fact, because it depends on private profits, the capitalist system is sometimes called the profit system.

"But, under a socialist system, the factories and other types of business are socially owned, that is, they belong to the population as a whole and are operated by the government, not for the profit of any one person or group of individuals, but for the benefit of all the people. This does not mean that everything is socially owned. An individual may own furniture, a home, a summer cottage, clothing and other personal possessions, cows, pigs, and other livestock and personal savings, all of which may be passed on to his heirs after an inheritance tax is paid. But individuals are not permitted to own natural resources like land, mines, forests, lakes, or rivers. And all industry—every single factory, office, bank, grocery, and department store, every theater, movie, bakery, and newspaper—is the

property of the people as a whole and is operated by their government or by their organizations.

"Though a factory or store may make profits, these profits return to the people in all sorts of ways: Bigger salaries, sickness and old-age benefits, capital invested in new factories to turn out more goods, additional agricultural products, better housing, stronger national defense, more electric power, new schools and universities, free medical care, clinics, hospitals, additional parks, clubs, theaters, recreational and sports facilities, rest homes."

Compare the foregoing with the following from "*Communism in Action*" (page 10):

"Because of the secrecy of the practices of the Soviet Union and because of the presumed unreliability or lack of technical competence of journalists and opponents of the Soviet regime who were able to leave for other countries, criticisms of the actual operation of the Soviet economic system have always been subject to reservation on the grounds of bias, unfairness, prejudice, or inaccuracies. On the other hand, Government releases can certainly not be taken at face value; while the books of visiting firemen and fellow-travelers are generally written by men without background in economic problems, whose chief qualification may indeed be nothing but an ardent will to believe * * *."

And the following, at page 13:

"One is struck particularly with the relative unconcern on the part of the Soviet planners for the human aspects of economic production. When construction was started on ambitious industrial enterprises, as in Stalinsk and Magnitogorsk, little thought was given to the provision of decent living accommodations for workers. This is all the more noteworthy in a Communist society which is supposed to be devoted to the welfare of workers as a capitalist society never is supposed to be and when the problem is simplified because the complete plans of capacity production and employment do not depend upon an uncertain market but are altogether in the hands of the Government industrial officials. Moreover, government housing and the provision of facilities would be only an extension of the government factory and the odium of company towns and company housing would not adhere. Yet they have opened plants employing tens of thousands of workers without any special facilities for them, depending to a large degree on the manager's fund obtained through reductions in cost below planned reductions for housing facilities for workers with the passing years. Kravchenko mentions the pathetic housing in Stalinsk, the nearby concentration colonies of '8,000 slaves,' and the slums which the workers called 'shanghai.' 'What a contrast' he exclaimed, 'between these 'Shanghai' and these mud 'homes' and the propaganda pictures in our films and magazines.'"

"ANNA AND IVAN"

On page 19 of "*Land of the Soviets*" a beautiful picture is drawn for a fictitious "Anna and Ivan":

"Then, too, they busied themselves with active sports. Ivan, a skilled parachutist, spent a good deal of time practicing. They both belong to the big Dynamo Sports Club on the Moscow River, where they swam and rowed and danced every summer and where they spent happy hours skiing each winter. Ivan loved his chess, too. And, of course, they went frequently to the theater and opera, for Moscow has more than twenty theaters and one of the best opera companies in the world. Even Sasha liked to attend a theater especially for children.

"Each summer, before the war, Ivan and Anna got a vacation with pay, which they spent, when possible, on the Black Sea. Their factory maintained a rest home for its workers in Crimea. Sasha, like most Moscow children, spent his summers at one of the numerous camps which the government provided at a very low cost."

Compare the foregoing with the following at page 125 in the pamphlet "*Communism in Action*":

"Leisure time use in the Soviet Union is strictly controlled by the State and the Communist Party. This fact is demonstrated in a number of ways. The amount of time allotted a worker for leisure depends upon the type of work he is engaged in and the quality of his performance. The places to which he may go in search of rest and recreation are likewise determined for him. The groups within which his leisure time activities are performed are organized and activated by Communist Party members. The sports in which he participates are designed to strengthen his physical power and skills for military and labor purposes. His cultural activities during leisure time are further conditioned by the political control of newspapers and books, plays or movies, and radio programs or musical concerts."

And the following at page 124 (ibid):

"The propagandistic role of the movies is emphasized. It has recently been reported, for example, that the Council of Ministers and the Central Committee of the Communist Party have approved a program of films for 1946 and 1947 to serve as propaganda in the completion of the 5-Year Plan. Historical films and fairy tale themes were denounced by the weekly organ of the propaganda and agitation board of the Central Committee, which warned the Soviet film industry: 'The cinema is a sharp ideological party weapon, and departure from contemporary life would mean the loss of its principal valuable qualities.' Every film, it was said, must be 'ideological and a highly artistic production'."

At page 25 in the pamphlet "*Land of the Soviets*" we find the following:

"In Soviet Russia, the newspapers give headline space to people who make spectacular contributions to the common good. Some years

ago, a young coal miner, named Stakhanov, achieved fame overnight for working out a system which materially increased the output of coal. In addition to bonuses, he received the Order of Lenin, the highest honor the government can bestow."

Compare the foregoing with the following from "*Communism in Action*" at page 46:

Wrote Kravchenko—

"Perhaps 200 qualified as Stakhanovites or speed kings. For the others the revision of norm meant simply a serious cut in earning power. * * * To add insult to injury, the new norms had to be presented and accepted by the workers 'themselves,' not only 'voluntarily' but 'enthusiastically'."

"Kravchenko then goes on to show how this was staged. Ambassador Davies called this 1936 maneuver an 'effort to reduce costs, to improve the profit position of these industries'."

"It appears also that—

"The decree increasing the working day from 7 to 8 hours in most industries and from 6 to 7 hours in all others, and lengthening the working week from 5 days to 6, did not include any raise in wages; in fact the daily and monthly rates of pay remained unchanged, while the production quotas were raised and piecework rates lowered to correspond to the greater number of hours worked."

THE SOVIET SLAVE SYSTEM

The booklet, "*Land of the Soviets*," is as brazen in its omissions as it is in the glowing propaganda accounts of "Soviet life." For instance, nothing is said of the millions of Russian political prisoners condemned to horrible privation, misery and death in hundreds of Soviet labor camps. Nothing is said of Trotsky, the outstanding genius of the revolution who made the dictatorship possible. (To say anything in praise of Trotsky is a Communist "sin.") Nothing is said of the ruthless secret police.

The following, from page 55 of the booklet "*Communism in Action*" tells part of the story of the slave camps of Russia omitted from "*Land of the Soviets*":

"We are concerned only to the extent that such camps exist in a country with the pretension of leading the world in improving the conditions of those who toil and labor. Nor does it matter in a sober comparison of industrial and social conditions whether these are called 'correctional' or 'educational' or 'prison labor', 'forced labor' or 'slave labor'. It is sufficient that for more than two decades reliance has been placed upon millions of involuntary workers who have produced enormous wealth practically at no cost to the state. Conditions, discipline, death rates, etc., in these camps will not be described. It is sufficient that millions who have been sentenced to them work for years or for life without wages and that they have no freedom to move out until their sentences are commuted or have run out.

“The labor camps became very important economic enterprises in the Soviet Union in the 1930’s and the GPU, which then bossed them, became the world’s largest employer of labor. In July; 1934 the GPU was transferred into the NKVD. ‘Originally Cheka, then GPU, now NKVD, the changes in name had altered neither the methods nor the awesome reputation of this naked sword of the revolution.’ Under the NKVD there was organized the Chief Administration of Corrective Labor Camps and Labor Settlements (GULAG) to administer the growing forced-labor camps. Besides using millions of political prisoners directly—on the highways, in mining salt, or gold, laying rails, felling forests, clearing swamps, building harbors and industrial plants—the NKVD farmed out its surplus prison labor to other Soviet enterprises. While the supply of forced labor was always available in the millions it was insufficient to meet the demand.”

The rights, duties and freedoms of Soviet citizens (based upon the fictional constitution of 1936) is set forth at pages 70 to, and including, 81, in the booklet “*Land of the Soviets.*”

This material should be compared with the same subjects appearing in the book “*Communism in Action*”. The following is from page 133:

“Although the concept of individual freedom in the U. S. S. R. differs sharply from that in the United States, the Soviet Constitution contains a comprehensive and much publicized bill of rights. It must be kept in mind, however, that Soviet constitutional guarantees, unlike those in the Constitution of the United States, are not legally binding on the legislative and executive authorities of the Union. They are, generally speaking, statements of aims or goals, or, in some instances, descriptions of policies in effect at the time the Constitution was adopted. They may be repealed or amended at any time by ordinary laws or regulations.

“The first article in the Soviet bill of rights guarantees Soviet citizens the right to work, defined as ‘the right to guaranteed employment and payment for their work in accordance with its quantity and quality.’ This right ‘is ensured by the socialist organization of the national economy, the steady growth of the productive forces of Soviet society, the elimination of the possibility of economic crises, and the abolition of unemployment’ (art. 118). Considerable compulsion, it should be noted, accompanies the right to work. The Constitution provides that work for able-bodied Soviet citizens is ‘a duty and a matter of honor,’ in accordance with the principle: ‘He who does not work, shall not eat.’ The principle of socialism is stated: ‘From each according to his ability, to each according to his work’ (art. 12). There is considerable restriction on the free mobility of workers. Then there is compulsory labor for criminals, political offenders, and sometimes for whole ‘hostile classes,’ as in the case of kulaks, or wealthier peasants.”

At page 135 of “*Communism in Action*.”

“The Soviet Constitution, like that of the United States, guarantees freedom of speech, of the press, and of assembly (art. 125).

The meaning attached to these guarantees, however, is altogether different in the two countries * * * If the Soviet attitude toward the press were to be applied in the United States, all private printing would be forbidden * * * The editors of the leading papers would be members of the Communist Party, and members of the staffs Communists or government officials. Publications would be put out by the government, the Communist Party, the Army, trade-unions, and other groups. All of these publications, however, would be strictly official and would be regarded as instruments of party propaganda, and would be financed by the government or the Communist Party * * *

"Freedom of expression in the Soviet Union is not, then, freedom from government control. The control is always present. The more difficult problem is to discover how far, as a matter of policy, the authorities choose to permit free discussion * * *

"The significance of the development summarized above is that all aspects of life have become political, and that persons deviating from the party line in any field may be treated as enemies of the state and charged with wrecking, sabotage, counter-revolutionary activities, or even treason. It should be noted that wrecking is 'not simply the causing of railways wrecks or the deliberate wrecking of complicated machinery. It may be an interpretation of Russian history which weakens the feeling of patriotism. Or it may be the running of the union of writers in such a way as to favor second-rate work and discourage the emerging of real talent.' In short, deviations from the party line in any field are political offenses, and as such subject to the severest 'measures of social protection' (the Soviet expression for punishment) to be found in the Criminal Code * * *

"The inviolability of homes and secrecy of correspondence are 'protected by law' (art. 128). This guaranty is said to 'prevent an individual without training or experience from making an unauthorized arrest or search.' " * * *

At page 139 of "*Communism in Action*" an interesting question is posed. What would the Communists in America think of a statute providing that where the FBI finds a person it deems "socially dangerous" it may exile such person to Alaska for five years without the benefit of a trial or due process of law.

It is stated that the NKVD following an investigation "may turn the matter to an ordinary or military court, or impose, in a nonjudicial procedure, the penalty of imprisonment in a convict labor camp up to five years, exile with settlement in a certain locality for a period up to five years, and banishment from the Soviet Union."

Thus the entire booklet "*Land of the Soviets*" might be compared.

There is no doubt whatsoever as to the character of the booklet. The questions asked at the ends of various chapters are designed to compare the United States unfavorably with the police state of Soviet Russia under the dictatorship of Joseph Stalin. The United States comes off second best in every comparison.

PROPAGANDA AND THE RECORD

The last paragraph in the booklet falls definitely into the field of brazen propaganda. It reads as follows:

"Soviet Russia has never let difference in social or political viewpoints stand in the way of international cooperation for peace. Its 1942 20-year treaty of mutual assistance with Great Britain is in harmony with its pre-war efforts to strengthen the system of collective security to enforce peace in Europe. Its record in the League of Nations, its unflinching stand against aggression, and its valiant fight for freedom all testify to its fitness to play a role in the peace comparable to that it has played in the war."

Nothing is said here of the abuse heaped upon the *League of Nations* by both Lenin and Stalin. There is nothing to indicate that Soviet Russia steadfastly refused to become a member of the *League of Nations* until the latter part of 1934. The children are not permitted to know that Lenin had referred to the League as the "League of Robber Nations" until fear of Japan drove Stalin to bring Soviet Russia into the League. The children are not told in this booklet that Soviet Russia is motivated by Lenin's caution to use any ruse, deceit or lie to gain Communist ends.

The following acts of aggression on the part of Soviet Russia, in face of existing solemn treaties, gives the lie to the propaganda contained in the last paragraph quoted above.

A 10 year nonaggression pact between the U. S. S. R. and Poland was signed July 25, 1932, and was extended for 10 years May 5, 1935. Soviet troops invaded Poland December 17, 1939.

Nonaggression pacts were solemnly signed between the U. S. S. R. and Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania. All of these pacts were violated by invasion of these countries by Soviet troops while the pacts were in full force and effect.

Soviet troops invaded Latvia June 17, 1940.

The Estonian border was crossed by Soviet troops June 17, 1940. Lithuania was invaded by Soviet troops June 15, 1940.

A nonaggression pact with Finland was extended for 10 years April 7, 1934.

Soviet troops invaded Finland November 29, 1939.

The Soviet Union agreed upon the definition of the term "aggression" with Estonia, Latvia, Poland, Iran, Roumania and Finland. This definition called "aggression" an act of invasion by armed forces or an attack by any type of armed forces with or without a declaration of war. The pacts were signed July 3, 1933. Similar documents were signed between the Soviet Union and Lithuania on July 5, 1933, and with Finland July 23, 1933.

Soviet troops invaded Roumania June 28, 1940.

It should appear evident to any person that the pamphlet "*Land of the Soviets*" is pure pro-Soviet, pro-Communist propaganda and that the use of this book for school children has a sinister objective. The plastic minds of children will believe that the "Socialist" State of Soviet Russia is an Utopia and that the United States is inferior in every respect.

The booklet is part of an over-all program for the softening of the coming generation by orienting youthful minds to the glories of Communism and directing disrespect and contempt for our traditions, our Flag and our Country.

INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS

"*Land of the Soviets*" is designated on the title-page as a "cooperative project between American Council, *Institute of Pacific Relations* and Webster Publishing Company."

The fact that the *Institute of Pacific Relations* cooperates in the publication of such obvious propaganda as "*Land of the Soviets*" brings the organization under the scrutiny of this committee.

A pamphlet entitled "*21 Years of IPR*" contains the following:

"Twenty-one years ago a small group of businessmen and scholars met to discuss the international problems raised by shrinking distances and increasing competition between the people of the Pacific Area.

"This group found its discussion handicapped by the lack of reliable information concerning Western commerce and political relations with the Far East.

"Where knowledge was needed, there was only opinion. When understanding was essential, there was only prejudice. These men and women determined to find the social, commercial and political facts about the Pacific Area, and having found them, to make them known for the benefit of the public at large.

"To accomplish that purpose, the *Institute of Pacific Relations* was founded."

The pamphlet states that there are similar autonomous national councils of the IPR in nine countries, including the U. S. S. R. The pamphlet declares that "each national council is represented in the Pacific Council which, with its international secretariat, coordinates the work of all the national councils."

Robert Gordon Sproul, President of the *University of California*, is listed as the chairman of the *Institute of Pacific Relations*. The executive vice chairman is Edward C. Carter. The treasurer is Brooks Emeny. The assistant treasurer is Tillie G. Shahn, and, as might be expected, the secretary is Marguerite Ann Stewart, author of "*Land of the Soviets*." The chairman of the Research Advisory Committee is Owen Lattimore. The vice chairman of the Research Advisory Committee is Eugene Staley.

Henry A. Wallace is a member of the Board of Trustees.

The Chase National Bank, Firestone Tire and Rubber Company, General Motors Corporation, Standard Oil Company of California, Standard-Vacuum Oil Company, Studebaker Corporation, Time, Inc., and the Westinghouse Electric International Company are listed among the corporations which have contributed to the research and educational program of the *Institute of Pacific Relations*.

The headquarters for the Southern California Division of the American Council, *Institute of Pacific Relations*, is located at 1151 South

Broadway in the City of Los Angeles. On the letterhead of the *Institute of Pacific Relations*, in an appeal for funds dated February 10, 1947, signed by Donald M. Nelson, chairman, the committee finds the names of Colonel Evans F. Carlson, Dr. Clarence A. Dykstra, Mrs. Robert Lord and Walter Wanger. Colonel Evans F. Carlson has been associated with most of California's Communistic left-wing groups during the past 18 months. Walter Wanger's name honors the letterheads of many Communist front organizations in California.

Thus, the private corporations of America tagged to be "expropriated" and liquidated under the dictatorship of the proletariat, contribute to such propaganda as "*Land of the Soviets*" designed to soften the coming generation for the Communist onslaught.

SEX BOOKS IN CHICO HIGH SCHOOL

During February of 1947, a delegation of World War II Veterans called on the chairman of the committee and presented a petition, signed by nearly one hundred residents of Chico, requesting an investigation of certain books used in connection with a course of study at the *Chico High School*. The veterans' committee presented the chairman with copies of the books in question.

A brief examination of the material disclosed that it was totally unfit for high school students.

An investigator was sent to Chico and a public hearing was called for February 26th, 1947.

COMMUNIST PARTY LINE IN SEX

It is the considered opinion of the committee that the books in question strike at the sanctity of marriage, at the family, and religion. The following paragraphs are in point:

"You know the broad outlines of that story: how religion and the state have forced maladjusted people to live together in 'holy' (sic) wedlock so that they might warp their children in the same effective manner as they in turn may have been warped * * * You know, also, the hard, stiff fight the revolt against Holy Deadlock has required. You know the way the state has all too often tried by law to make married people breeding machines by conspiring against the people * * * " (P. 11, *Your Marriage* by Norman E. Himes.)

"* * * But we live for other things besides personal happiness however important and formerly neglected that was. Many of us want to find a less topsy turvy world,—a better world if you will. At least a minority of mankind is willing to work for it. Accordingly, in stressing personal counsel in this book, it has seemed wise to take a side glance now and then at the social aspects or social implications of the struggle for happiness and adjustment in marriage * * * " (P. 12, *Your Marriage* by Norman E. Himes.)

"* * * In other words, the radical program is the only fundamentally sound one in the long run." (P. 44, *Your Marriage* by Norman E. Himes.)

BASIC 12

The controversy raged around a course in the *Chico High School* known as "Basic 12". A "dittoed" copy of the outline of this course was presented to the Committee. (Exhibit No. 1). After the title appears the following: "Text: *Marriage and Family Relations*, Foster, Macmillan and Co. 1944."

Page 3 of the "dittoed" "Outline of Course—Basic 12" contains the following:

"Supplementary Reading for Part I;

"Beulah Coon and Goody Koontz, Bess, *Family Living and Our Schools*; D. Appleton, Century Co., Inc., New York, 1941;

"Jones, Esther Lloyd, Fadder, *Coming of Age*, McGraw Hill Book Co., 1941;

"Langer, Walter, *Psychology and Human Living*, Appleton Century, 1943;

"Bennett, M. E., *College and Life*, McGraw Hill Book Co., Inc., 1933;

"Himes, Norman, *Your Marriage*, New York, Farrar and Rinehart, 1940. 3.75;

"Bowman, Henry, *Marriage for Moderns*, Whittlesey House, 1942, 3.75."

Briefs were made of the four books under fire, *Coming of Age*, *Your Marriage*, *Marriage for Moderns* and *Marriage and Family Relationships*.

The committee will not attempt, in this report, to describe the foregoing books. The following is indicative of the contents:

"Let us first recognize sex and human reproduction as physical functions belonging to the field of biology. As such, they have no ethical or social importance. They have no more moral quality than eating, breathing, or sleeping." (P. 134, *Marriage and Family Relationships*, by Robert Geib Foster.)

* * * * *

"If you have been a heavy 'petter' and engaged in pre-marital sex relations, then what is to follow may be of little value to you." (P. 137, *Marriage and Family Relationships*, by Robert Geib Foster.)

Testimony Extracts

Mrs. Dorothy Scharm Enloe, formerly a member of the Board of Education of Chico, was the first witness examined.

Q. (By Mr. Combs): And you were elected chairman of that board, were you not?

A. Yes.

Q. And how long did you serve in that capacity?

A. Nearly two years.

Q. And did you resign from your office?

A. Yes.

* * * * *

Q. Your resignation was voluntary?

A. Yes.

Q. And why did you resign?

A. I resigned because I couldn't stand the pressure which was being placed on the board.

Q. By that I take it you mean the pressure that was generated by reason of this textbook controversy?

A. Yes.

* * * *

Q. I show you a book with an orange cloth cover on it entitled, "*Marriage and Family Relationships*," which bears the name of Robert Geib Foster as the author, published by The Macmillan Company, New York, in 1945, and ask you if that is the book you have reference to?

A. Is this the book from which the chapter has been cut?

Q. You refer to chapter nine? Is that the chapter to which you refer?

A. The book which I saw had a chapter cut from it. If this is a complete book, this is not the book I saw.

Q. I don't mean specifically the same volume. I mean as to whether or not it was written by the same person and contained the same contents.

A. Yes.

Q. It was this same book?

A. Yes.

Q. Now, you refer to this as a textbook—in connection with what course was it used?

A. It was not used.

Q. Not used at all?

A. No.

Q. Not used as a text?

A. No.

Q. How did it come to your attention?

A. It was being considered as a textbook for one of the courses at the high school.

Q. Which course was that?

A. A part of the senior basic course entitled, "*Family Relations*."

Q. Is that the course that is commonly referred to in the press as Basic Twelve?

A. Yes.

Q. The course that was taught by Mrs. Wilma Carlson?

A. Yes.

* * * *

Q. Was the course compulsory or optional?

A. The principal asked us to make it compulsory, I believe.

Q. And you did so?

A. Yes.

* * * *

Q. * * * Now, you say that these books that are listed at the bottom of this syllabus for supplementary reading for part one

were merely for supplementary reading for the teacher and not for the students?

A. Yes.

Q. Were the books purchased by this school board?

A. No.

Q. They never were in the school at all, were they?

A. Not through the school board to my knowledge.

Q. Were they in the school to your knowledge?

A. I don't know.

* * * * *

Jay Partridge of Oroville, is the Superintendent of Schools for Butte County. Extracts from his testimony follow:

Q: (By Mr. Combs): I would like to have you, if you will, Mr. Partridge, candidly state as briefly as possible and in a general way your understanding of the inception and development of this particular controversy in connection with the family relations phase of the course taught in Chico High School, known as Basic Twelve.

A. Well, this first came to my attention in the matter of consideration of the school budget; that there were certain eliminations from the school that some persons felt should not have been eliminated, and I was asked to present a copy of the budget, which I did. A little later some objection was voiced to the effect that the basic course, this particular course of study, in fact, the entire course of study had not been presented for approval to the State Board of Education.

Q. Did you follow that matter to see whether that was true?

A. I did.

Q. What did you find?

A. It had not at that time been presented for approval, but it was within a few days.

Q. Was it being taught?

A. I suppose so.

Q. Before it was presented for approval?

A. Before it was presented to the State Superintendent for approval.

* * * * *

Q. Now, why were the books under controversy? Were they proposed for use in the course? How did they ever get into the picture in the first place?

A. I don't know.

* * * * *

Q. Did you read them?

A. Only small portions of them.

Q. What did you think of them? Did you think they were suitable for use in instructing high school students?

A. That, I believe, would be only a matter of opinion, if I were to express it.

Q. That is what I want. In other words, assuming you had a daughter of high school age who had enrolled in that course, would you consider the things you read suitable for her instruction?

A. I would have no objection provided she had been given sex instruction at an earlier age so there was a general bringing up to that point.

Q. Then, I take your testimony to be that if that were not the case, the books would be unsuitable, in your opinion?

A. It perhaps might be. Some portions I would hesitate to place in the hands of a person who had had no previous sex instruction.

* * * *

Q. Reading from page 64, about the middle of the page, it says, "We expect our parents to grow out of date and to be of no further value to us, just as we do our car or a pair of shoes." (*Marriage and Family Relationships*.) Do you recall that? Would you approve of that sort of text material for the instruction of high school students?

A. It is always possible to read a sentence or two from a book out of the proper context and make it appear other than it really is.

Q. Would you check this for me and tell me whether or not you think that is out of context?

A. I couldn't read the entire book now and tell you.

Q. Is it your opinion that a person cannot read an excerpt from a book and get the proper meaning without reading the whole book?

A. You would have to read considerable of the context.

* * * *

Q. * * * What parts did you select for your reading?

A. The parts most seriously under controversy, chapter nine of the Foster book.

Q. You read all of chapter nine?

A. I read all of chapter nine.

Q. Chapter nine is entitled, "Sex as a Factor in Family Life." Now then there appears in that chapter on pages 138 and 139 under the heading, "Male and Female Sex Anatomy," two illustrations. Your remember those, do you not?

A. Yes, I do.

Q. Now, as I recall your testimony, you stated that, at least by implication, that if a child had had no previous sex instruction in the home, that such material would be unsuitable for her.

A. It might be.

Q. Might be? You think the same thing would apply to a boy student who had had no previous sex instruction?

A. I think it might.

Q. It wouldn't make any difference as to the sex of the child, would it?

A. No.

* * * *

Q. There was a grand jury investigation of this matter, was there not, Mr. Partridge?

A. Yes, there was.

Q. Did you appear as a witness before the Grand Jury?

A. I did.

Q. Have you seen the grand jury report?

A. I have. I say I have seen the report. I have seen only newspaper accounts of it. I didn't see the report itself.

* * * * *

Q. (By Senator Tenney) : Was this Basic Twelve approved by the State Board of Education, Mr. Partridge?

A. As I understand their procedure, they issue no definite approval of a course. If it is disapproved, the school is notified. If it is not disapproved, it is placed on file. And I know of no disapproval of the course.

Q. Do I understand your testimony to be they have not approved of it?

A. I understand they have approved as there has been no disapproval registered.

Q. In other words, silence would indicate consent?

A. That seems to be the general procedure.

* * * * *

Q. (By Senator Gordon) : He (Mr. Partridge) answered whether or not he did approve of the course. I understand you to say you do?

A. I approve of such a course.

Q. That goes as far as this does? (Indicating the Foster book).

A. You are referring to the textbook now?

Q. Yes.

A. I think I expressed my stand toward the textbook. The textbook is not the course.

Q. Well, you do approve a similar course to this?

A. I do approve a course in family relations.

Q. And going so far as this book indicates you should go?

A. You are getting back to the book again now.

Q. Definitely, I'm getting back to the book.

A. I expressed my approval of a course in family relations.

Q. Well, I'm just asking you now if you go as far in family relations as this book suggests?

A. I think I stated that where children * * *

Q. I don't care what you stated. I'm asking you to make a statement now.

A. I think I stated that where children have had proper sex instruction leading up to this, I think this does not go too far.

Q. You say "children." What do you mean? How early would you start to give these instructions?

A. I would start at the very earliest age possible, way down in the home.

Q. And continue it right on up?

A. And continue it right on up.

Q. You would give them a beautiful education by the time they got grown surely.

A. It might prevent a lot of ills of society.

Q. Well, of course, we may differ on this. It might prevent a great many ills, but create twice as many as you stop.

* * * * *

Q. (By Mr. Combs) : * * * your testimony is still, I take it, that since no such course was taught in the school system, that for those children who had had no previous sexual instruction at home, this book would be unfit.

A. Parts of it.

* * * * *

Q. (By Senator Tenney) : I'm asking you that question without reference to any book. Do you think we should teach the children that religion and the law have combined to bring about maladjustment, and as a part of sex education, we will have to change the social order.

A. I don't care to answer that question without giving it some thought.

* * * * *

Frederick F. Martin is the superintendent of the City Schools of Chico. His testimony, in part, follows :

Q. (By Mr. Combs) : Now, in regard to this book, "*Marriage and Family Relationships*," by Foster—that there seems to be considerable disagreement and controversy about—was that book in any way used in connection with the course?

A. Not to my knowledge.

Q. You don't know whether it was used by the teacher or students or whether it was used at all?

A. We know this, that the book was briefed by the teacher, by the principal and myself and several others who are interested in it from the course standpoint, and we recommended that we not use the book.

Q. You recommended that the book not be used?

A. Right.

* * * * *

Q. Now, Mr. Martin, I call your attention to page three, (referring to the Outline of Basic 12), supplementary reading for part one. That is supplementary reading—that was simply suggested books for the students to consult in connection with the course, is that what it is?

A. For the teacher only.

Q. For the teacher only?

A. Right.

Q. Why was this outline given to the students?

A. It wasn't given to the students.

Q. So, no student had this outline?

A. As far as references for books or pamphlets, this was the outline for the teacher in the instruction procedure. This was used by her for her background.

Q. I see. How many copies of this were made? Just one for the teacher?

A. No, I think several of them were used.

Q. All the same?

A. Yes, as far as I know * * *

* * * * *

Q. And that supplementary reading—why was that deletion made?

A. Because when we decided to not use this book or any of the other books that were sent as sample copies—and may I state that these lists were sent by the State Department of Education, the man who heads up the work, Dr. Ralph Eckert, and the outline coming from them, we felt duty bound they should outline and study pretty carefully the list.

Q. Which you did?

A. We did, and when we found out all that this included, we felt it did not belong in the high school, and we recommended that it not even be recommended to the Board of Education, and it was not.

* * * * *

Q. He (Dr. Ralph Eckert) came here and talked, didn't he?

A. Not publicly. He was here and worked with several people and in the school department where this work was given.

Q. Didn't he make a press release?

A. That is right.

Q. Put an article in the paper approving the course?

A. That is right.

* * * * *

Q. Who made this list up?

A. Mr. Wandling and Miss Crouch and the counseling and guidance group in the high school.

Q. They made this list, did they, and were they then responsible for the inclusion of this list of supplementary texts on the outline?

A. Yes, because it had been sent to them from the State Department.

* * * * *

Q. The books were put in here as supplementary reading for part one and later when this controversy arose, that entire list of books was deleted from the outline?

A. Correct.

Q. I will hand you the book (*Marriage and Family Relationships*) and ask you simply to look at the table of contents, and ask you whether or not you think those subjects would be suitable for a

basis of instruction to high school students? I understand this is the first time you have seen the book.

A. I wouldn't use it in high school under any circumstances.

Q. I show you a book by Henry Bowman, entitled, "*Marriage for Moderns*." This is the first time you have seen this book also?

A. That is right.

Q. It was only a suggested book for supplementary reading, and I ask you to examine the matter on pages 56, 217, and 235, and ask you whether or not—and I don't want you to take it out of context. Read enough to know it is a fair example, and tell me whether or not you think those should be taught. (After a brief pause.) Now, have you read the excerpts?

A. I have.

Q. Do you think they are fit for basis of instruction to high school students?

A. They do not belong in high school classes.

Q. I have just made a few excerpts from this one which is entitled, "*Coming of Age*," by Lloyd, Jones, and Fedder, and ask you if you will look at a few of those until you can form an opinion and tell me what your testimony is regarding that book. What is your testimony about that book?

A. After reading about half of your suggestions I can say the same thing for this book. It doesn't belong in the high school at all.

* * * * *

Florence William Tarr is a member of the Chico Board of Education. Extracts from his testimony follow:

Q. (By Senator Tenney): In reference to the books of this course; what was the controversy?

A. There was a difference of opinion there.

Q. What was the difference of opinion? What did it amount to? What was the gist of the argument?

A. I can't answer that question.

Q. Well, you had a controversy. You had one group—I imagine one group had one opinion and the other had another.

A. Other than two members agreed to it and three disagreed—that is all.

* * * * *

Q. Well, you have five members on the board, is that right?

A. That is right.

Q. And three would constitute a majority?

A. That is right.

Q. Therefore, I take it from what has been said that there were two members opposed to this course and three members approved it.

A. That is right.

* * * * *

Q. (By Mr. Combs): As a result of those discussions, Mr. Tarr, is it your feeling that sex is being taught as a part of the course, or ever was, or whether it wasn't?

A. It is my understanding that sex was never taught in the high school.

Q. At all?

A. That is right.

* * * * *

Q. (By Senator Tenney): But, you have heard of it being taught?

A. That is right.

Harry Wandling is the Coordinator of Schools in Chico. His testimony, in part, follows:

Q. (By Mr. Combs): Did you have anything to do with the making out of the outline the teachers use in instructing the course in Basic Twelve?

A. Yes, I did have something to do in this way, that the teacher on several occasions came to me and talked to me about the outline and what I would consider would be valuable to put in the course, and the type of thing I did was to mention different kinds of problems that we thought would be problems of family life, the problems of support, the problems of responsibility of the father and the mother and so on, the problems of social life, the problems of drinking in the home, the problems of children, and that kind of thing; and the thing I did was to list such problems as I thought would be important for her to teach in the class.

* * * * *

Q. Now, did you have anything to do with the compilation of this particular outline yourself?

A. Not the actual compilation, no.

Q. Did you confer with Mrs. Carlson regarding the books listed as supplementary reading?

A. I talked to her on many occasions. She was working in the State College this summer on the books to be used, and I kept repeating to her that whatever books she used, no sex was to be included.

Q. You were emphatic about that?

A. That is right, and there was never any sex included.

* * * * *

Q. Now, did you confer with Mrs. Carlson concerning the books that are listed on page three of this outline as supplementary reading?

A. I did on the Foster book.

Q. "*Marriage and Family Relationships*"?

A. That is right.

Q. Did you read the Foster book?

A. I did.

Q. Did you advise that chapter nine be deleted from the book?

A. I did.

Q. And that chapter dealt with sexual relations, didn't it?

A. That is right.

Q. And was it deleted?

A. That is right

Q. How many copies of that book were ordered?

A. Forty.

Q. Forty copies?

A. That is right.

Q. And was it your intention to delete chapter nine in each of the 40 copies?

A. If the book was used. The book was on its way to the Board of Education and it would not be used unless the Board approved, and I was trying to find out the consensus of opinion whether we could use it or not, and in only the one book was the chapter deleted as a sample for inspection purposes.

Q. How did you happen to order 40? Would that order go in before or after the book was submitted to the board?

A. The 40 were ordered early enough for the preparation of the class. The school was opening and each class would only last six weeks. If we waited until the opening of school, we would not be prepared.

Q. So, as a matter of practical preparation so that in the event the thing was approved, there would be enough available for each one of the students?

A. That is right.

* * * * *

Q. Now, let me ask you this question. Who selected these particular books for inclusion on this list?

A. I would say the teacher did. She did that.

Q. Who else connected with the course selected them? Anybody else?

A. We don't do it that way. We let the teacher do the selecting and then come to us for approval. Then we only approve just the ones they feel they want to use.

* * * * *

Q. Now, the list of supplementary texts was deleted from this outline later, Mr. Wandling?

A. That was true, yes, but once again, there is the misunderstanding again. That was made for the teacher and not other people. And so when she found that some of those books were not usable with students, and that they were being misunderstood by parents who got them, I don't know how they got them.

Q. You say she found some of the books were not usable for students. Do you mean not usable in the sense they were not suitable for her to read and then instruct the students?

A. No, I think she felt they were not usable for students.

Q. Was it the intention to let the students read them originally?

A. She couldn't know what was in the books until after she had read them. The first thing she did was make a list of books. She

would read such books as she found to meet her needs, and when that was done, she might read more, or she might not.

Q. So she made the list first and put the books on the list and then found they weren't suitable for use, is that your understanding of it?

A. She didn't read them all.

Q. Well, those that she did.

A. Some that she read and found they weren't suitable, that is right.

Q. But, included among the supplementary reading list first, and when this supplementary reading list was included as a part of the outline, it meant, but didn't say, that the supplementary reading was for her use only, is that right?

A. That is right. It wasn't so stated on there because, when she made it out, she didn't expect to give it out to the public.

Q. But, the principal allowed the public to have access to it?

A. That is right, because he was so confident there was no sex to be taught.

Q. In the books?

A. No, no sex to be taught in the course.

Q. But, he discovered almost all of these books dealt with a great deal of sex?

A. We all discovered that afterwards.

* * * * *

Q. You are quite satisfied in your own mind, Mr. Wandling, that there was no element of sex taught in Basic Twelve at all?

A. I have been wanting a chance to prove that.

Q. How?

A. We have a questionnaire here. The teacher was called away because of a death in the family.

Q. That is Mrs. Carlson?

A. That is right. And while she was gone, the principal asked if he might give a questionnaire to the students in her absence, so that was done, and there are six questions here, and they all deal with whether there was sex taught or not, and the answer is unanimous, no.

* * * * *

Q. (By Senator Tenney) : Mr. Wandling, what was the purpose of the questionnaire?

A. Well, we felt both for ourselves and for the interested public, that people had a right to know. There had been so much said, as you say, confusion. There had been so much confusion and so many conflicting statements, that we thought the students were the real answer themselves.

Q. Take Question Number Three, "Have you received any sex education of any kind in the family relations unit in Basic Twelve?"

Would that presuppose some knowledge on the part of the student before they might answer that?

A. Very definitely.

Q. You said they answered unanimously "no" to that?

A. Yes.

Q. Question Number Six: "If you wish to say anything in praise of the family unit, please do so below." Do you think that question would be designed to influence the student to say something in praise or support?

A. Well, I think the answer there is in what they said.

Q. For instance, you say, "If you wish to say anything in praise or support." Wouldn't the proper way have been—unless you were anticipating the type of answer you were to get—to say, "If you wish to say anything in praise or support, or against or in criticism," wouldn't that have been a more honest question?

A. Well, I think that could have been done. May I again answer, I wish some of those answers could be read by the students because the sincerity of the student's answers is so well told there that I think it takes care of your question, because they are voluntary and in their own language.

* * * * *

Q. (By Mr. Combs): How do you account for the fact, Mr. Wandling,—you have asked us to keep these (students) names confidential, and we intend to do that; and we intend to keep confidential the names of the students who came to us. How would you account for a situation where some students come voluntarily without subpoena and tell us that sex was taught in the course? How do you reconcile that difference of opinion?

A. Well, you are asking me an opinion now.

Q. That is right, I'm asking for your opinion.

A. I don't know whether I should answer that or not. It is just an opinion.

Q. That is all right.

Q. (By Senator Tenney): We have affidavits from some of them saying that sex was taught, and they wish to be protected. Now, we have these. How do you reconcile that?

A. I can't see anything but influence.

Q. Would the influence be on the part of the teacher or some one else? I think you will agree that teachers will have a great deal of influence over the students. If the teachers gave the impression they wanted answers similar to this, the children would be foolish if they didn't give the answers they (the teachers) wished, isn't that true?

A. I don't agree with you on that. I think that is terribly overdone, Senator. Students are a lot more independent than you give them credit for, and they have a lot more intelligence and maturity than they are given credit for. These students had gotten through the course, and their grade was already in.

* * * * *

Q. (By Mr. Combs) : I'll be glad to repeat it, and I'll put it another way and try to make it a little more clear. From the testimony as it now stands in the record, either one of two things must have occurred. It is an inevitable conclusion, of course, it is obvious. Either these books were included in this outline before they had been read, or they were included in the outline after they had been read. If they were included in the supplementary reading list before they were read and analyzed, most everyone who has testified agrees they shouldn't have been in there at all; and if they weren't read at all before they were put in this list of supplementary reading, that would be as grievous a mistake, because the books are obviously objectionable, and yet they were put on the outline, and the outline, through what you said was a mistake of the principal, was made available to the public. Now, don't you think in either instance that was unfortunate?

A. I'll agree it is unfortunate, but I certainly don't want to put our teachers in the position that they can't go ahead and make up a list of books without knowing what was contained in the books.

Q. Don't you think it would be better for them to read the book first and then make the list up?

A. I think the teacher ought to have the privilege of having the books either dittoed or typed, and whether they were pencilled or typed doesn't make any difference. I think maybe I'd be pretty cautious . . .

Q. This is a mimeograph list, isn't it?

A. It is a ditto list. But, men, if you are interested in education, don't put teachers in a place that they have to read every book before they can make up a tentative outline.

* * * * *

Mrs. Wilma S. Carlson is the instructor in the Basic 12 course in the Chico High School. Her testimony, in part, follows:

Q. (By Mr. Combs) : I show you this compilation and ask you who, if you know, made it? This outline of Basic 12?

A. Well, I suppose I made it with Mr. Wandling, and in the class I took this summer in curriculum planning.

Q. That course you took last summer in curriculum planning was taken at the Chico State College?

A. That is right.

Q. And you took it from Dr. Dumas?

A. That is right.

Q. Now, you say you made this in collaboration with Mr. Wandling?

A. Yes.

* * * * *

Q. Now, *Coming of Age* was used, wasn't it, by you in connection with the course?

A. It was used only very temporarily. I would like to mention that the students come into the classes on a rotation period.

• • • • •

Q. Now, early in the teaching of that course, were these students, or any of them, permitted to take this book home?

A. One student came into my class and asked to see the copy of the book and took it outside of the room for a few minutes and then returned the book.

Q. Now, did he have it over night?

A. He didn't have it over night to my knowledge.

Q. I see. Did any other students in the class at all have access to this book besides that one student?

A. They simply looked through the book. They did not have definite assignments from it, and it was on my desk for a while. It was later removed because we found objection was being made to a great many of the materials we were using. I might say here and now, it was very difficult and has been to find material that deletes sex completely, and we have no textbooks and no textbook has been used in the Basic 12 class.

* * * * *

Q. What I'm trying to find out is, and I'm not getting very far, is who ordered these books and in connection with what part of the course, that is all. I know they weren't used, or at least that is the testimony that they weren't used, and we understand that thoroughly, but they must have been gotten by somebody.

A. Well, they were suggested on a bibliography which I have already mentioned to you, and you will also find them suggested in the back of the *Public Affairs* pamphlet, and they were merely ordered as an examination copy. All of them have not been received to my knowledge, and I haven't looked at all of them.

Q. Who ordered them?

A. I did.

* * * * *

Q. Now, did you, or did you not, order the books and then didn't read them?

A. I ordered the books. The books were delayed in coming and they were not all received to my knowledge. The one book mentioned, "*Coming of Age*," was loaned to a mother, and she said the book was not suitable for use in a high school. Since all of our books were coming under examination, we withdrew the books.

Q. All of them?

A. The ones she had examined.

Q. Now, getting back to "*Coming of Age*." That book was accessible to students in the class while they were in the classroom?

A. For about a week or 10 days.

Q. And they—did they come up and examine and read it?

A. Not too thoroughly. I would hate to give anyone of them an examination on it.

Q. I have given five of them an examination on it, and they passed pretty good on it.

A. They might have had more access to it than they did in the classroom. These books, I think, have been circulated by people other than school people.

Q. I don't think there is any question about that. And we intend to bring that out this afternoon. But, it is your testimony and this is important, at least to us, that early in the course, the students in the course did have access to "*Coming of Age*" in the classroom?

A. That is right.

Q. And at least on one occasion one of the students took it out of the classroom for a short time?

A. For a short time, yes.

Q. It is your testimony that on no occasion this book was taken home and kept over night by any student taking Basic 12 with your permission?

A. That is right.

Q. It is your testimony that no student ever did keep the book over night?

A. Not to my knowledge.

Q. Could they do so without your knowledge?

A. It seems as though they could. I have felt every so often that someone has been moving books around on my desk.

* * * * *

Q. You knew they were reading that book?

A. For a while.

Q. How long a period of time?

A. A week or 10 days.

Q. Early in the course when the students had access to the "*Coming of Age*" book, they had access to the book with your knowledge, didn't they?

A. Yes, at that time.

* * * * *

Mr. Combs: Before going any further, in connection with the testimony of Mrs. Carlson, I would like to read into the record some excerpts from this book.

In the first place, Mr. Chairman, on page 7 of the preface of the book, it specifically states that the book is intended for a text for college classes.

On page 58 the following statement concerning parental control appears: "It is not surprising that the difference in age between young people and their parents is accompanied by differences in viewpoint. These differences are implied when a young person speaks of his parents as 'strict' or 'old-fashioned,' or when he mentions 'gaps between their ideas and mine.' As a result, some young people have expressed themselves as being 'disillusioned' about their parents. Others have felt that they had to choose between rebelling against them or 'knuckling under' to them. It is often

reassuring to the young person who is having difficulties at home to know that others among his contemporaries have found it necessary to take issue with their families."

Homosexuality is discussed on page 100 of the book. This is a case history * * *.

Dr. David Bradley Cheek is a practicing physician in the City of Chico. Extracts from his testimony follow:

Q. (By Mr. Combs): Dr. Cheek, * * * calling your attention to the book, "*Coming of Age*," from which I have just read excerpts; have you read this book?

A. Yes, sir, I have.

Q. You have heard the testimony of the person who taught Basic Twelve and her testimony was, as you undoubtedly could hear, that the book was accessible to the students in the class.

A. Yes.

Q. You heard that testimony?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you hear the excerpts that I read from the book? Could you hear me read them?

A. Yes, I did.

Q. And you had read the entire book?

A. Yes.

Q. Will you please tell the committee, in your opinion as a medical man, whether that book or that type of book is proper for use in a class in a high school, and whether or not the making of that book accessible to high school students would produce a beneficial or detrimental result on them.

A. This, of course, is my opinion.

Q. Exactly.

A. I feel it should not be taught to students of high school age.

Q. Or made accessible to them?

A. Or made accessible to them.

Q. For what reason?

A. For the reason that it tends to break down the barriers that convention sets on the normal sex attitudes among children and young people who are not married. I think that it tends, if it is taught, it tends to make familiar to young people affairs of sex which they may discuss, and if it is taught, it gives an authority to that teaching and association of thought which may be detrimental by breaking down the barriers of their ideas of what are right and wrong. I feel that it gives a suggestion. In other words, I feel it gives a suggestion towards breaking down the usual conventions which I think we all believe in.

Q. (By Senator Tenney): Would the entire tendency of such a course, Doctor, be to the end that the moral fibre of high school

students would be broken; do you think if this thing,—this type of thing was universally taught in the school system that that would be the case?

A. I feel very strongly that it would tend to depreciate the morale of the student, yes.

* * * * *

Q. In other words, it would have the opposite effect to what has been testified to and stated; that this thing has been designed to stop divorcees and that sort of thing?

A. Yes.

Q. But, it is your opinion that it would increase them?

A. That is my opinion, yes.

* * * * *

Mr. Combs read a statement into the record by Dr. E. L. Meyers, a practicing physician in the City of Chico. The following is from page 121 of the official transcript of the hearing:

Mr. Combs: Mr. Chairman, at this time, in connection with the testimony of Dr. Cheek, I would like to read a letter received from Dr. Meyers. Dr. Meyers, as I understand it, is the assistant health officer of the county, and we endeavored to subpoena him, but he was in San Francisco and was not subpoenaed. His letter is dated February 1, 1947, and reads as follows. It is on his stationery. This is an unsolicited letter, I might add (Reading):

“This is to certify that I personally examined the disputed course of Basic Twelve, Chico High School, and in my opinion there are two angles to the course.

“First, the psychological destruction of our American home.

“Call it Red, Fascism, it’s all the same.

“Second, dissemination of sex knowledge in such a manner as to be classified as immoral and indecent, not fit for adult consumption, let alone plastic kids.

“I have proposed to our legislative body that ‘anyone teaching sex in our schools, without the knowledge and written consent of the parent or guardian, would be guilty of contributing to the delinquency of minors’.”

Major Jose Prez Brown, retired Army officer, testified, in part, as follows:

Q. (By Mr. Combs): Have you heard the testimony on the part of the witnesses who have preceded you that sex was not taught in the course?

A. I have.

Q. Will you please briefly state what you found in that connection?

A. * * * The day that that curriculum was passed I purposely asked Mrs. Enloe if I was to understand that they had no books in the school then and she said, and I’m referring to the account from the *Chico Enterprise* of November 26, 1946, where it says that Major Brown asked about the books which brought about the original

criticisms and reference books used by the marriage relations course and Mrs. Enloe, it says, "Told him sharply that the books were out of the picture and had no part in the present discussion." And that very night they passed the October report containing the outline of the same book.

Now I asked Mr. Mitchell about supplementary reading and he said, "No reference books are being used in the course."

This is an official copy from the minutes of the Board of Education, dated September 26, 1946, which says that Mr. Mitchell and Mr. Wandling were asked to report on the proposed course of family relations known as Basic Twelve. A general discussion was had and it seems the concensus of opinion was that the course should proceed, also that some sex instruction should be included, but that the use of this particular textbook should be banned. This is official. This is from the minutes of the Board of Education of September 26, 1946.

Mr. Combs: In which it was agreed that some sex instruction would be given?

A. Regardless of the testimony given to you, this is official and you can get that from the minutes. Now, at the meeting when the Grand Jury Report was read to the Board, I fought to have the report of the Grand Jury upheld, which it was not by three members, and I asked at that time about the books. There are two books of this family relations. The first one they borrowed from the college and they deleted the chapter. The second book is one of the 40 books. Now, you are a lawyer. They said, "We are not going to teach that course, but we have two books," and right after the grand jury criticized them for having this, they bought, "*Your Marriage*."

Chairman Tenney: By Himes?

A. Yes, sir. They bought that. So even if the course is given by lecture, you can come to the conclusion yourself. We have two of these books and that was bought after the grand jury condemned the course, but that isn't all. Last meeting, after telling us that they were not teaching sex, they presented a bill for those books, which incidentally is against the law because they are not listed here, two books, *Your Marriage and Family Living* by Landis, and *Sex Guidance in Family Life*. The Board of Education refused to take any action last meeting. They are going to examine those books.

Now, it does look to me that they made up their minds, regardless of hell or high water, that they are going to force this course through the high school. Why will they order these books which are not here approved by the State? We finally pinned Mr. Martin down on who ordered those books, and he had to admit that Mr. Mitchell did. They sent the bill to the high school. Now, on the questionnaire. One of the papers here locally, they published a series of articles by Mr. Mitchell and Mrs. Carlson. One of the questions was, "Was sex ever contemplated to be taught?" and Mr. Mitchell's answer was, "It was never taught."

The *Sacramento Bee* of February 8th had an article in which the *Bee* reported Mr. Mitchell as having admitted the teaching of sex to 20 at the beginning of the course.

Mr. Combs: Just a moment. At that point, Major Brown, you say that was in the *Sacramento Bee*? For what date?

A. February 8, I think it was. The dispatch was from Chico dated February 8.

Mr. Combs: From the Chico paper?

A. No, it was dated at Chico.

Mr. Combs: Page 16?

A. That is it, yes.

Mr. Combs: Is this what you refer to? "Chico, Butte County, February 8. Principal Stuart Mitchell of Chico High School admitted that sex education was given to 22 students of the school at the beginning of the fall term." Is that what you meant?

A. That is right. Now this question and answer of the *Chico Enterprise* of January 25, a series of questions and answers, one from Mr. Mitchell and the other from Mrs. Carlson—she says here—the question is, "Has the book, '*Marriage and Family Relationships*' by Foster been in the classroom when students were there?" "No." "Have you ever given the book to any students?" "No." "Do you have any book which includes a chapter on sexology in your room for students to read?" "No." Well, you heard her testify and say they were there.

* * * * *

Mrs. Clementine Wraith testified, in part, as follows:

Q. (By Mr. Combs): Did you make any effort to find out for your own satisfaction whether or not sex was being taught as a part of the course, as has been alleged here?

A. I did.

Q. And, did you find it was or was not?

A. I'm still not sure. I have been told that it wasn't taught. Well, perhaps I'd better start at the beginning. It was before school opened in September. I was very interested in this so-called Basic Twelve since it is a new thing in our high school. Mrs. Carlson gave me a copy of the outline. She went over it very carefully with me and explained what was to be taught according to the outline and it sounded very good. I asked where I could see a copy of the textbook. Oh, before I go further, she told me she had been busy during the summer preparing this outline, and it was prepared from the textbook.

Q. Which textbook?

A. "*Marriage and Family Relationships*" by Foster.

Q. That was this outline? (Showing her the outline).

A. I believe that is it. Yes.

Q. All right. She said that she prepared the outline based on that book?

A. Yes, and it was my understanding that the outlines were to be given to the students because there were quite a few of them.

Q. How many would you say?

A. I'm not good at guessing, but a pile that high.

Q. Indicating a pile about three inches thick?

A. Um hmmm.

Q. All right. And, did they all have this list of supplementary books on them?

A. Yes. Well, I didn't look at all of them. I just took a copy off the top.

Q. They did appear to be multigraphed or dittoed?

A. Yes. So the book was in Mr. Wandling's office, and I went down to see the book and he showed it to me, and I thought, well, if there is anything wrong with this, perhaps the index will tell me. I glanced through the index and I found this chapter on sex. I turned to that and found the chapter was out. I thought that was a very poor idea, to have a textbook with a chapter cut out, and I expressed myself to that effect to Mr. Wandling. Well, I didn't ask to see it at that time, though when I was telling him I thought it was a poor idea to have a textbook with a chapter cut out, why he said the chapter was to be kept on file for those students who wished to see it. Now, later he stated it was for parents, but on that particular time when I asked about it, it was to be kept on file for those students who wished to see it.

Q. Where was it to be kept on file?

A. I believe in his office.

Q. I see.

A. So, it was a couple of days later that I began to think about the chapter and I called Mr. Wandling and asked him if I could see the chapter, and he told me I could if I came down to the high school the following morning, which would be the Saturday before school started. I went down and he gave me the chapter. At the time after he gave it to me he said, "I hope you will keep it in confidence because I have not Mr. Martin's nor Mr. Mitchell's permission to let you have this." Well, I didn't tell him I would because—and I didn't tell him I wouldn't. I felt that a book that was bought by taxpayers, the taxpayers were certainly entitled to see. So, I took the chapter home. It was quite a chapter. But, oh, before I saw this chapter though, I called Mrs. Enloe. It was the day before, and you see there was some misunderstanding as to whether or not the course was compulsory or not compulsory, and I called Mrs. Enloe as Chairman of the Board and asked her. She said, "Well, no, she didn't believe it was compulsory," and I asked her if she would please have a statement in that evening's paper and in the Saturday morning paper to that effect because school started the following Monday, and it was not fair for students to go to school under the impression a course was compulsory if it wasn't. Well, Saturday morning there was nothing in the paper and there was nothing in the paper Friday night. I called Mrs. Enloe again and she said that she was pretty busy and hadn't had time to take care of it, and anyway she felt it should come through Mr. Mitchell, that statement, as Mr. Mitchell was principal of the high school. So I called Mr. Mitchell and he said, "Well, it isn't exactly compulsory, but we want all the students to take it." And I said, "If it isn't compulsory, will you please have

a notice in tonight's *Enterprise* and Sunday morning's *Record*?" He asked me what the hurry was. I told him I thought it was only fair since school started Monday that the youngsters and their parents should know whether or not this new course was compulsory. Nothing appeared in the paper. Anyway it was Saturday morning that I got the chapter. Well, by Monday I wanted to see the rest of the book, and I called the high school and they told me that there was only one book available and they weren't sure when I could see it. Well, later that afternoon Mr. Wandling called me and told me if I could come down to the high school then I could see the book. I went down to the high school, and present on that occasion, in, I believe it was Mr. Wandling's office, were Mr. Mitchell, Mrs. Enloe and Mrs. Carlson. And they asked me what my objections were, and I told them I simply objected to that type of book being used as a textbook, and with the chapter cut out, it was even worse because that is just practically daring the youngsters to find out what is in that chapter. So Mr. Wandling gave me the rest of the book to read. That book was a book from the Chico State College Library. It was not a sample copy from any place. It had the library number on it. Well, I objected to the book to Mr. Mitchell, and he told me he valued Mr. Wandling and Mrs. Carlson's judgment more than he did my opinion, and I don't blame him at all, but I still felt it was not fit material for teen-agers. Mrs. Carlson was kind enough to send me a copy of "*Coming of Age*," and asked me if I would look that over and tell her whether or not I thought it would be acceptable as a textbook in place of Foster. After reading part of it, I told her that if anything it was worse than Foster. And we have never yet been able to get a statement as to whether or not this course is compulsory, and to me that freedom is the foundation of America.

A. The testimony was this morning, Mrs. Wraith, I don't know whether you heard it or not, that the course was announced as compulsory, but after the objections were raised to some of the material apparently that had been used in teaching the course, at least, "*Coming of Age*," which Mrs. Carlson said was available to the students, that if a student brought a note from the parents, the student would be excused from the course, but that no general announcement to the students to that effect was made.

A. There is another thing, if the student does bring a note from home and is excused from the course, that child is practically penalized because it cannot participate in those social affairs and parties which are planned for the students of Basic Twelve.

* * * * *

A. (By Mrs. Wraith): These books; I might add, that at the time I was given the outline and the original outline that they had there at the beginning of school for the youngsters of which this is a copy, it was my understanding from Mrs. Carlson that the supplementary books were for the students to read. They would not be assigned lessons from them as they would from their textbooks.

Q. (By Senator Tenney): Is it your testimony that Mrs. Carlson told you that?

A. Yes. That was my understanding.

Q. When did she tell you that?

A. On the eighteenth of September.

Q. (By Mr. Combs) : Did she make that statement to you that the supplementary books were student references at the same time that you saw this outline which contained the supplementary list in a stack?

A. Yes, there was quite a group of them. The textbook assignments were to be made to the students from the textbook.

Q. (By Senator Tenney) : The textbook was to be what book?

A. The Foster book, and the supplementary reading was extra for supplementary reading for the students to do. A bibliography is quite a different thing than a list of supplementary books.

Howard S. Clewitt is a practicing attorney, and a member of the Chico Board of Education. His testimony, in part, follows:

Q. (By Mr. Combs) : Was it your understanding, Mr. Clewitt, that no element of sex was to be taught as a part of Basic Twelve?

A. Absolutely that was the definite instruction of the board from the time that the course was first mentioned.

Q. And the board was quite specific in its instructions, wasn't it?

A. Very specific. It came up a number of times, and we stated we wanted it distinctly understood that no sex was to be taught in the course.

Q. Now, in the event that a book was made available to the students and in that book the practice of masturbation was tacitly encouraged according to the testimony of a doctor who appeared here this afternoon, would you, or would you not, deem that a violation of the board's instructions?

A. Well, I will say this, it certainly wouldn't have met with the board's approval, not with my approval as a member of the board, and I'm certain the other members would have felt the same way.

* * * * *

Q. Do you consider the excerpts that were read into the record as proper reading for children of high school age?

A. I do not.

Q. You have no doubt, well, of course, you heard the testimony of the instructor to the effect that the book was made available to the students earlier in the course?

A. Yes, I heard her testimony here.

* * * * *

Q. And if you find it (the board's policy) hasn't been carried out, then what happens?

A. Well, we try to correct the situation, which we did in this case by ordering these books to be no longer considered. In other words, I personally made the recommendation and said that—when the matter first came up—the books had not been received, that is,

the 40 copies—and I said then to Mr. Wandling, I said, “Harry, the best thing for you to do is when those books come, don’t even unpack them. Ship them back.”

* * * * *

Q. If there were many copies of this (the dittoed copy of the outline of Basic Twelve), a stack some three inches thick, multi-graphed or dittoed, and that on page three of each and every copy there was this list of supplementary reading, would you conclude that would be for the use of the student, or the teacher?

A. Well, I would conclude that it was probably for the use of whoever the copy was given to.

* * * * *

Q. (By Senator Tenney): These minutes of the board—they purport to be minutes of your board of September 26, 1946, Mr. Clewitt, and they state that “Mr. Mitchell and Mr. Wandling were asked to report on the proposed course in family relations known as Basic Twelve which was being instituted as a requirement for graduation and which had caused some adverse comments by certain parents and groups.” It goes on to say that “criticism was due largely to the use of “*Marriage and Family Relationships*” as a textbook, and that from this textbook it was proposed to delete the chapter on sex relations and that this chapter was to be made available for parents to see. Mr. Wandling explained the purpose of the basic course and its development and Mrs. Madison gave a short explanation of the unit on nutrition which was planned as a part of the course, and Mr. Mitchell followed by giving a resume.” It further states that there “were about 20 persons with me at the meetings, among them three ministers, the public health nurse, and parents and others. A general discussion was had and as a result it seems the consensus of opinion was that the course should proceed and also that some sex instruction should be included, but that the use of this particular textbook should be banned.”

A. I recall that meeting very distinctly and also the discussion which occurred. That was the day in which I had first heard of this controversy and the Foster book, and prior to that meeting, Mr. Wandling had explained the situation to me that they had this book and felt it necessary to delete this chapter, and that was when I told him, “Harry, you will make a mistake trying to use a book with a chapter deleted, and you better send it back.” There was quite a delegation at that meeting and the consensus of opinion of the entire delegation, not the board, was that some sex should be included. I don’t think the board expressed themselves, but a number of those present, spoke up very strongly in favor of this course, and stated that while they didn’t approve of this particular book, they did think that we were not going far enough in the course we proposed to teach.

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Nels Anchor Christensen is a farmer and a member of the Chico Board of Education. He had been unable to arrive at any definite conclusion as to whether or not Basic Twelve did or did not include instruction on sex. Extracts from his testimony follow:

Q. (By Mr. Combs): Mr. Christensen, have you arrived at any conclusion in your own mind as to whether Basic Twelve did or did not include instruction on sex?

A. No.

Q. You have not arrived at any definite conclusion?

A. I have not. May I make this statement. On the evening of November 6, there was a public meeting called at the Chico High School to present the entire basic course for the approval of the Board of Education, and that is the first official knowledge that I had of the basic course. It was just mentioned that these books had been ordered and they were coming in and they had been advised that they had been sent back. I knew nothing of that situation. On that evening of November 6, Mr. Mitchell answered written questions. At the end of the meeting, as a member of the Board of Education, I took the privilege of asking direct questions from the floor without the formality of writing. In answer to some of the questions, Mr. Mitchell stated that the book, "*Marriage and Family Relationships*," was not being used in our school system. I took that as conclusive that there were no sex courses being taught in our school system. Possibly within 15 minutes, Mrs. Carlson appeared on the stage and made the statement that the book, "*Marriage and Family Relationships*," was an excellent book even though the chapter nine had not been deleted. A statement of that kind coming after Mr. Mitchell's statement may possibly arouse a certain curiosity in a board member's mind as to whether it is or is not. You are all familiar with the number of books that have been brought into the school system since then, one at a time. Some of the pamphlets, a number of them use the word "sex" in their title, and I think that it is possibly difficult for a member to make up in their own mind after contradictory statements as to whether sex is or is not being taught in our school system.

* * * * *

Q. Does that jibe at all, in your opinion, with the statement made by some of your administrative personnel that no sex was to be taught in that course?

A. Well, it would seem not, and possibly the fact that these things do not seem to coincide is what is at the bottom of the so-called controversy that you people are here to investigate. I think that, and I can come to no other conclusion, and I wish to be fair about it, than that it was the intent of the administrators who set up this course to sell that to the public before it was brought to the board. There were two meetings at the Chico High School of the High School P. T. A. at which this Basic Course was presented, and while I haven't got my dates, they certainly can be had, either that meeting was the very late part of May or the early part of June. It was immediately following that meeting that two or three ladies became interested in this sex book. I myself knew nothing about the basic course in all of its phases, and at the following meeting, without knowing anything about the sex course, I criticized, justly or otherwise, the administration for bringing to the public such an important matter as the changing of our curriculum affecting every

student in our school system without first coming to the Board of Education. I think that would probably clear the matter as to when the controversy started.

* * * * *

Q. (By Senator Tenney): What you have in mind, Mr. Christensen, is the testimony given this morning which would indicate at least without analysis that the board was divided into two to three on every subject regardless of merit or argument?

A. Yes.

Q. And voted that way?

A. Yes, I wanted that corrected because that is not the case. We have had a number of controversial issues before our board, including your friend Carey McWilliams, on which you wrote an extensive book.

* * * * *

Q. (By Mr. Combs): While we are on that particular subject, did McWilliams come here and speak?

A. He did under the auspices of the Chico School Adult Education.

Q. (By Senator Tenney): Who invited him?

A. Well, the original forum was sponsored by the service club of this community. I was a member of the service club. I was a Rotarian, have been a Rotarian for about 15 years. I have very high respect for service clubs. I don't know who suggested it, but the suggestion was made that the sponsorship be turned over to the Chico High School System. About a month before these speakers were decided upon, Mr. Martin called me regarding these speakers because it was necessary that if we took part in the forum that these speakers be approved by the State Board of Education. Mr. Martin mentioned who they were. He mentioned McWilliams, and I asked at that time * * *

Q. Who was it suggested Mr. McWilliams?

A. Well, he was mentioned. I'm not in a position to say who picked these people. I believe that the service club appointed Dr. Oliver of the college as moderator and they possibly carried a great deal of the responsibility with the actual backing of the service club.

Q. What was his full name?

A. Dr. Oliver. I have no question in my mind, and I wish to leave no such question, but what Dr. Oliver had the full backing of the service club in this community and that they acted in good faith.

Q. They were not aware of Mr. McWilliams' background at that time?

A. I take it that they were not. The only objection that I have to Carey McWilliams' coming in here was this. I do not try to dictate to anyone who they must listen to and who they must not listen to. My only part in bringing in Carey McWilliams was as a member of the Board of Education elected by the people, and I

think with the understanding that I would use my best judgment and my conviction in any problem or anything that came up. It was my sincere desire that a man of Carey McWilliams' type should not, in any way, be sponsored or paid moneys on the average daily attendance from our school system. I did not object to him coming in here if he'd come in any other manner. I acted as a member of the Board of Education.

Q. Were his expenses paid out of the ADA of the school?

A. The school received average daily attendance on every man or woman, I believe, in the audience, and out of that the expenses were paid for the speakers, and the advertising, and that was all taken out and the balance above that, I believe, it was a matter of three hundred some odd dollars was credited to the forum committee of the Adult Education of the High School System.

* * * * *

Okay Dewey Simmons, fifth member of the Chico Board of Education, testified, in part, as follows:

Q. (By Mr. Combs): Well now, Mr. Simmons, is it still your opinion that no sex should be taught as a part of Basic Twelve?

A. I honestly can't tell you what I think because I get reports on both sides of the thing.

Q. Were you here when Mrs. Carlson testified?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you hear her testify that this book was used in her course on Basic Twelve and was on her desk and that the students read it?

A. I did.

Q. And did you hear the excerpts read into the record?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. And would you say they dealt with sex?

A. They certainly do.

Q. You can believe her, can't you? She is teaching the course?

A. Well, I'm not going to tell you who I believe, because I have heard responsible people on both sides that have told me on both sides of it.

Q. (By Senator Tenney): Do you think that should be given to high school children?

A. No, I don't.

* * * * *

Q. (By Senator Tenney): Who is the person pressing this material? Who wants to have it taught? Who is making it up and putting it on the lists as supplementary reading? Who is doing that sort of thing?

A. I can't answer that. I go to the Board meetings, and we try to compress in five or fifteen or thirty minutes what we should do in a month. These folks bring us stuff and during this controversy over the bond election and whatnot these educators of ours had sheaves of stuff. I believe they could prove black was white because they

have got it right there. They had it right at their elbows. There was a group that could confound us. They went down and took pictures of people coming out of a country school at noon recess and the paper printed it with an article about the congested conditions there were.

* * * * *

REPORT OF THE GRAND JURY OF BUTTE COUNTY

Pertinent extracts from a report of the Butte County Grand Jury, addressed to the Chico Board of Education under date of December 30, 1946, follow:

“The Grand Jury, being about to close its work for the year 1946, deems it proper and advisable to make a written report of its findings and recommendations, both to the Chico School District and the public, in relation to its investigation of certain affairs of the Chico School District which were the subject of complaint made to the grand jury by diverse citizens and taxpayers of the district.

* * * * *

“Lastly, we come to consider the complaint made with reference to high school curriculum. This complaint attacked directly a portion of the course known as ‘Basic 12’, and dealing more specifically with ‘marriage and family relations.’

“The state law specifically provides that before any new course can be taught in high school, such course shall be approved by the Board of Education and State Department of Education, and further that if any book is to be used as the basis for such course, such book shall be an approved state textbook.

“That portion of the course ‘Basic 12’ which was the subject of complaint was not approved either by the Board of Education or the State at the time the complaints were laid before the grand jury, and the grand jury, at its first meeting, instructed the county superintendent of schools to notify the State thereof, which notification would have had the effect of stopping the granting of further school funds by the State. Immediately after notification of the condition aforesaid was given to the county superintendent of schools, the board of education met and approved that portion of the course ‘Basic 12’ which was the subject of complaint and forwarded the same to the State of California for approval.

“Without discussing the merits of the course at this time, the grand jury wishes to recommend that hereafter new courses of study be approved by the board of education and the State of California prior to the time that they are taught to pupils within our school district. In other words, that the law be strictly complied with in all particulars.

“As to the merits of that portion of the course ‘Basic 12’ dealing with marriage and family relations, there may be a great difference of opinion between educators, and others. However, the grand jury is unanimously of the opinion that the book proposed to be used as the basic book for said course, and other books proposed to be used for reference work in such course, were not educational, even with a portion of said basic book deleted as was contemplated, but rather, in many respects, were immoral. It is true that the book in

question was not, in fact, used in giving the course, although 40 copies thereof were ordered for the course. It is further true, however, that the outline of the course as originally submitted contained the basic book and reference books heretofore referred to, and further that the outline of the course as now given follows very closely the chapter headings of the contemplated basic book.

"It is inconceivable to the grand jury that any modern educator would even contemplate the use of the books referred to in the original outline for children of high school age. The grand jury feels that had the administrative employees in charge of curriculum fully and fairly reviewed this course with the board of education, such board would not have approved the course as originally set up and thereby the entire controversy now existing would never have been brought about.

"It has been intimated that the book proposed to be used as basic for this course is used in other high schools. The grand jury has been unable to find any high school in the State of California that is using said book as basic for a similar course or even as a reference book, and further that said book is not now, nor has it ever been approved by the State as a textbook.

"The responsibility for the complaints laid before the grand jury pertaining to that portion of 'Basic 12' dealing with marriage and family relations must be laid squarely before those administrative employees of the district charged with working out the curriculum of the school district, and again the grand jury desires to point out that such officials should not propose to use a book as basic for a course until it is approved by the State, nor should they propose to give a course of study until it is approved by the school board and the State. These requirements are simple—are well known to all competent teachers and administrative officers. They constitute mandatory state law and should be strictly followed.

"If a course of study is to be maintained in the high school dealing with the subject of marriage and family relations, it is recommended that the same be based upon a textbook approved by the State, and that the present outline of the course be changed to avoid further misunderstanding and lack of harmony.

"Lastly the grand jury is desirous of stating that the ability, honesty and integrity of the Chico Board of Education has not in any wise been questioned in any respect in this investigation, and that after interviewing said board of education on the matters at issue, the grand jury has the highest regard for their ability, honesty and integrity in the administration of school affairs.

"Any public censure of the Chico Board of Education in this investigation has not been brought about by the actions of the board members themselves or as a group, but rather by administrative officials employed by the board who have been derelict in their duty. It is hoped that the board of education will hereafter require strict compliance with the law by its employees and agents."

Student Conduct at Public Hearing

The subcommittee hearing in Chico February 26, 1947, held in the Veterans Memorial Auditorium, was punctuated by considerable dis-

order and attempted demonstrations. An atmosphere of hostility against the committee pervaded throughout.

During the examination of Frederick F. Martin, Superintendent of City Schools, a boy arose in the audience and interrupted the proceedings to declare: "I took that course; that last statement was incorrect. There wasn't any sex education as far as that goes. There wasn't anything sexual in any of the course." The lad gave his name as Ted Scoles and his statement was greeted with loud applause.

The afternoon session was punctuated by incoherent heckling. During the examination of Major Jose Prez Brown, a Kenneth Tinkler arose in the audience and made a statement that was not audible to the members of the committee or to the court reporter. He was asked to take the stand but refused. During this incident 75 to 100 Chico State College students rose in a body and in a boisterous and disorderly manner left the auditorium. Many of the boys hurled names and vicious remarks at the committee as they made their exit. It took several minutes to restore order.

The chairman of the committee was informed that the President of the College, Dr. A. J. Hamilton, was in the audience. He stood when the chairman asked if he was present.

Q. (By Senator Tenney) : You are the President of the College?
Dr. Hamilton : I am.

Q. Is this the type of student you are turning out?

Dr. Hamilton : I don't know anything about what you are talking about.

Q. Aren't they (referring to the students who were leaving the hall) students of your college?

Dr. Hamilton : As far as I know, they may and may not be.

Q. But most them were?

Dr. Hamilton : I don't know.

Q. Some of them were, were they not?

Dr. Hamilton : I don't know. I couldn't see who went out.

Q. Well if they were, I think you ought to do something about it, Doctor?

Doctor Hamilton's answers to the chairman's questions were greeted with hilarious laughter from the audience. Everyone present, including Dr. Hamilton knew that the disorderly group were students from the college.

When the subcommittee reconvened at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, the auditorium was crowded with high school girls and boys. In view of the fact that many portions of the questioned books were to be read into the record it was believed that the excerpts were of such a pornographic and immoral character that minors should be excluded from the public hearing. The chairman addressed the audience as follows:

How many of the audience are from the high school? Will you all stand up? (They did so.) I ask one of you how you all happen to be out of high school? Is there no school today?

Student (girl) : We had special permission to leave. Our parents gave us permission to leave school and come over here to the hearing.

Chairman Tenney: And the school authorities permitted you to come?

Same student: Yes, with our parent's permission.

Chairman Tenney: Did you bring notes from your parents giving you permission to come?

Same student: We had our parents permission.

The chairman then asked all minors to leave the auditorium and this request was greeted with considerable protest. The high school students, however, reluctantly left the auditorium.

Committee Findings

After carefully weighing the testimony and exhibits in the Chico High School "Basic 12" course, the committee finds the following:

1. The books under examination are pornographic in content, immoral in many respects and totally unfit for high school students. In this respect the committee echoes the sentiments of the Butte County Grand Jury by stating that it is inconceivable that any modern educator would even contemplate the use of the books referred to in the original outline for children of high school age.

2. The books, either wittingly or unwittingly, follow or parallel the *Communist Party* line for the destruction of the moral fibre of American youth. Disrespect for parents, religion, and the law of the land is subtly injected throughout the hedonistic context. Although the proponents of the books have declared that their use is urged as a remedy for juvenile delinquency and for strengthening the marriage relationship, it is nevertheless obvious, without considering the testimony of Dr. Cheek and Dr. Meyers, that the use of these books in high schools would result in wide promiscuity and disease, and add to the growing divorce rate. John S. Cowgill, San Mateo County Probation Officer, stated in a recent report that the major causes of delinquency included "Hollywood morals," "pornographic literature" and "lack of religion." He stated, by way of additional emphasis, that reports to the State Probation and Parole Officers Association (of which he is a director) indicate an estimated 18,000 abortions as against 14,000 births in the City and County of San Francisco for 1946.

3. The committee finds that the course "Basic 12" was not approved by the Board of Education of Chico or by the State Board of Education at the time the course was outlined and the books selected. Immediately after the Chico County Superintendent of Schools was notified by the Grand Jury of Butte County to take the matter up with the State Board of Education, the Chico Board of Education met and approved that portion of the course, "Basic 12," and forwarded the same to the State Board of Education for approval.

4. The committee finds that the course was prepared and the books selected by the instructor, Mrs. Wilma S. Carlson, and Harry Wandling and possibly a Dr. Dumas at the Chico State College.

5. Forty copies of "*Marriage and Family Relationships*" by Robert Geib Foster were ordered for the use of students and all but two of the books returned to the publisher.

6. One of the books recommended for supplementary reading, "*Coming of Age*," was used in the classroom "only very temporarily"

according to the testimony of Mrs. Carlson. It was available to the students for a period of a week or ten days.

7. The evidence leaves no doubt whatsoever as to the determined attempts of some person or group of persons, whose names are unknown to the committee, to establish the course known as "Basic 12" with "*Marriage and Family Relationships*" as the textbook and the other books as supplementary reading for the students. In spite of the recognized good faith and integrity on the part of the members of the Chico School Board it is apparent to anyone reviewing the evidence that a subtle and persistent pressure continued throughout for the teaching of the course as planned.

8. The committee finds that, although the Chico Board of Education was divided on issues of no concern to this legislative committee, the members were unanimous in their opposition to the use of the books in question. The committee finds the board members innocent in every respect of any connivance in the preparation and determination to use "Basic 12" as outlined. The blame for the selection of the books and the course lies with Harry Wandling, Coordinator of Chico Schools, Mrs. Wilma S. Carlson, the instructor, and persons unknown to this committee. Both Mrs. Carlson and Mr. Wandling declare that they selected the textbook and books for supplementary reading without having first examined the texts. If this be true (and it should be stated emphatically that the committee is not doubting the testimony of either Mrs. Carlson or Mr. Wandling) the most that may be said in this connection is that they were both derelict in their official duty. This being the case an interesting question presents itself: Who is responsible for the selection of the books in the first instant?

9. The Chico incident is not an isolated one. The committee is in possession of sufficient facts to indicate an over-all pattern. The presence of Carey McWilliams in Chico at or about the time of the inception of "Basic 12" is a fact that the committee is not overlooking. The Chico affair, taken into consideration with the use of "*Land of the Soviets*" and the *Canoga Park High School* teachers, indicates a carefully laid Communist plan for the corruption of America's coming generation.

PRESS REACTION ON THE CHICO AFFAIR

The Communist press of California welcomed the Chico hearing as an opportunity to ridicule the committee and its chairman. The theme "Tenney Finds Sex Un-American" was used for all it was worth. As a diversionary tactic, completely overshadowing the real issue, the Communist slant was effective in many quarters. As a result certain California newspapers were deceived and carried items and editorials echoing the Communist press. The publishers and editors of these periodicals have since been furnished with extracts from the books proposed as text and supplementary reading in the *Chico High School* and have been acquainted with the facts and the real issue.

A copy of the *Trojan Owl* for February 24, 1947, was addressed to the State Senate. The student editors of the *University of Southern California* in this issue attack Senator Tenney, Chairman of the Committee, on one of his bills presently pending before the California Legislature. The editorials, addressed to the Senator, in part, read as follows:

"We wonder, Mr. Senator, if you have recently glanced over the files on the high venereal disease rate; the highest in the country. We wonder also if you believe that the boy and girl of 15 is completely ignorant of the existence of sex.

"Come now, Mr. Senator, just where will these young people go when they become curious in matters pertaining to sex? Is it your desire to drive these people into secretive meetings in an alley somewhere to whisper and discuss obscene literature and peruse pictures of the same nature?

"Just when the more progressive educators and public officials have about convinced the public (after all these years) that sex knowledge is as important, if not more so, than English, history, and geography, you come along to propose a bill which would throw us back into the age of hush-hush * * *

"And Senator, how about this. According to a recent survey conducted by Dr. Edward F. Griffith, marriage guidance expert, 93 out of every 100 British and American women consider their husbands 'lousy lovers.'

"A study of British and American marital habits showed that an overwhelming percentage of unhappy marriages were caused by ignorance of proper sex techniques, he added.

"Griffith, employed at Middlesex hospital, England, said 90 percent of the population is ignorant of the 'aesthetics of intimacy.'

"With these statistics and the mounting divorce rates approaching one out of every two marriages, how can you, Senator Tenney, propose such a measure and still be working for the best interests of the people who sent you to the State Capitol."

Joseph Allan Beek in his capacity as Secretary of the Senate of the State of California wrote a brilliant reply to the *Trojan Owl* editorial. Mr. Beek, in addition to having served for more than a quarter of a century as Secretary of the Senate, is a man of many accomplishments. Navigation has been one of his chief hobbies and, in this capacity, he served his country well during World War II as a Convoy Commander in the Southwest Pacific. Mr. Beek entitled his answer to the *Trojan Owl* "*Pansies in Pants.*" The article follows:

PANSIES IN PANTS

The California Senate has received a copy of the *Trojan Owl*, transmitted by the University of Southern California, containing an editorial attack upon Senator Tenney because he presents legislation to prevent the use of salacious books such as he found in use at Chico High School, books which insist that there is no moral aspect to the sex problem and which follow the communist program of advocating promiscuous relationships, state supported child care centers, and the elimination of the home as a social entity. These books provide specific instruction, to children of high school age, in such matters as the most intimate physical relationship and explanations of various perverted and depraved substitutes therefor.

The *Owl* editor claims that the kind of education he extolls will tend to reduce the divorce rate, overlooking the fact that the increase in divorce has run an exact parallel to increased publicity of the subjects he claims should be taught. He further insists that education in "proper

sex techniques" and "the aesthetics of intimacy" are necessary, and quotes from the sophisticated mouthings of some luminous authority on such subjects the statement that 93 percent of American husbands are, as this be-gowned expert puts it, "lousy lovers."

If these authorities are right, we should supplement these books with laboratory courses and practical demonstrations under the direction of some of these adept individuals in order to remove all such restraining influences as modesty, decency and morality from the list of attributes of our young people.

If we take the views of the *Owl* editor seriously we must distrust the historians who tell us of certain robust indiscretions in the decadent years of our great naval hero, John Paul Jones. It is said that after ravishing the British merchant marine, he disported himself in like manner with the women of the French court. He could not have been guilty of such misconduct. He just blushed and bit his fingernails, he had never been guided by a marriage expert nor schooled in "the aesthetics of intimacy."

The same reasoning prompts us to wonder at the continuance of the race, for the book of Genesis says nothing about any aesthetic technician under the fig tree, unless perhaps it was the snake. Alas, poor Cleopatra, it is not of record that any of her admirers had taken courses in the subjects advocated by the *Trojan Owl*.

The aesthetics of intimacy!! Great shades of John Wesley! If that methodical old religionist had imagined a university, fostered by a church he founded, inhabited by a lot of pansies in pants steeping themselves in such effete drivel, he might well have wondered if he had not labored in vain.

The stork is no mystery in the modern home. While the study of such scientific subjects as physiology and the process of reproduction are desirable, schooling in the technique of intimacy is not only unnecessary but is an unwarranted intrusion into a realm which good taste dictates should be left private. Sex needs no advertising and children need a minimum of instruction in the subject beyond what their parents should teach them and advice as to cleanliness and self-restraint.

It is encouraging to note that the people of Chico have rebelled against the use of lascivious books in their schools, and we are justified in believing that of the students of the University of Southern California, it is probable that a very small minority favor following a pattern which is part and parcel of the degeneration of the decadent peoples of the Old World.

It is probable too, that the average male student of that great institution of learning is sufficiently virile, sufficiently resourceful, and possessed of a sufficient degree of self respect to prefer that the girl who is to be his wife and the mother of his children, shall not have been subjected to the ministrations of the aesthetic expert and the guidance of the intimacy technician.

WHAT SHALL TEACHERS TEACH?

The committee includes in this report another article by Mr. Joseph Allan Beek, Secretary of the Senate of the California Legislature, taken from the *Sacramento Union* in its issue of March 3, 1947. The article is addressed to the editor and is headed "What Shall I Teach?":

"Your issue of March 1 carries a letter in which 'Teacher' inquires what he shall teach about public affairs, and asks if democracy is only a 'sham and liberty only a word.'

"If teacher will review his history, cast his eyes about him, and overcome his discouraged, perhaps cynical, attitude he may decide to try the following.

"Teach the fundamentals of our form of government and reveal the fact that it has allowed more freedom and presented a greater opportunity for the pursuit of happiness than any system ever devised by man.

"Teach that while democracy has its weaknesses and sometimes functions awkwardly such imperfections are a small price to pay for the advantages we enjoy under that system which is the only living alternative to dictatorship.

"Develop our adherence to the proposition of the greatest good to the greatest number with the result that the average American lives the life of a king compared to the average German under Nazism; the average Italian under Fascism; or the average Russian under Communism, for under any of these forms of despotism, with all their efficiency and all their glittering promises, the individual is nothing but a slave to the State.

"Teacher may well emphasize the fact that eternal vigilance is the price of good government. He will not teach his pupils that the lobbyists and the labor unions are, as he says, running our legislature and robbing us of our freedom. The lobbyists are not running the Legislature. Legislators, generally, listen to them with the mental attitude of a judge listening to a lawyer representing a client. Labor unions were not created to deprive men of freedom but to secure just treatment for victims of injustice. When they started depriving people of freedom our government set about circumscribing their power. The fact of their existence is evidence of the freedom we enjoy under democracy, as, also, is the fact that by lawful means they can be deprived of the power to interfere with anyone's freedom.

"Teach the dignity of labor, pride of craftsmanship, and the truth that the finest reward a man gets out of life, be he preacher, pedagogue, or pugilist, is the respect of his contemporaries and the esteem of those who know him best.

"Teach that fine biblical admonition, that it is more blessed to give than to receive, and that life is service and success measured in terms of the degree of service.

"Teach temperance in all things including denunciation of men in public office, that students may not be guilty of such unjust accusations as teacher's statement that 'our law-makers daily make spectacles of themselves.' Our legislators are perhaps no better but certainly no worse than those who elect them. Most of them are serious minded individuals who do nothing more spectacular than study the measures before them and try to render service to their constituencies.

"Teach the virtue of common decency and the axiom that 'self denial is the price of all the excellencies' in order that our young

people may avoid the 'drunkenness, lewdness, boisterousness and immorality' which teacher deplores.

"Admit that race problems are as old as humanity but that the cure lies not in awakening race consciousness but in the application of such homely expedients as common sense, tolerance and Christian charity.

"There are so many things worth teaching that teacher is to be envied his opportunity. Between the lines of his letter there are the signs of a fine crusading spirit but, alas, Mr. Editor, I also detect the traces of a perfectionist—one who expects things to be perfect. Nothing ever is. Legislative government is not perfect but, for the common man, it is the best system yet devised."

ANTI-SEMITISM

The platform of Gerald L. K. Smith's *America First Party* asked the following questions:

"Is it true that 95 percent of the founders of Communism were apostate Jews?"

"Is it true that the New Deal is heavily staffed with a certain type of Jewish bureaucrats?"

"Is it true that the movies and radio industries are largely in the hands of certain Jews?"

"Is it true that the policy of newspapers is directed or obstructed by the fact that the big department store advertisers are reputedly 75 percent Jews?"

Anti-Semitism feeds upon such innuendo. Prejudice is born of ignorance. The same psychological sense of frustration and guilt found in every Communist spurs the ignorant non-Communist to seek a scapegoat.

Character assassins in search of evidence for vicious smear-material have little compunction to resorting to invention. Generations of character assassins have built a vicious series of libels against the Jews to which antiquity attaches a semblance of authority. Sinister men in contemporary life have not hesitated to supply libels allegedly from another age in order to bolster their vicious attacks on the Jewish people.

The committee, in its 1943 report, listed organizations in California and in the United States which sought to advance their causes on the basis of anti-Semitism. The committee has unequivocally, in all of its reports, condemned such organizations and their mouthpieces. The committee has unequivocally condemned Gerald L. K. Smith in his attack upon the Jews. He states that he is not anti-Semitic. The committee contends that such statements, even though in question form, as listed above, are designed for the purpose of stirring up hatred and antagonism toward the Jewish citizens of America. The committee believes that these questions are deliberately designed for that purpose. The implications are false and the propounder of the questions know it. A well intentioned, honest and intelligent person might accurately answer these questions in the negative after a half-hour research in any public library in America.

Communism attacks the Jewish faith with the same viciousness as it attacks the Christian faith. American Jews are notorious in their fervent patriotism, their devotion to the Constitution of the United States, to its institutions and traditions. There are few non-Jews in the United States who are so effective in their fight against Communism as Eugene Lyons, George E. Sokolsky and Benjamin Stolberg.

The questions quoted above are designed to influence the uninformed by stirring latent prejudices against the Jews. The noninquiring mind,

after having read the questions, is led to believe that 95 percent of the founders of Communism were apostate Jews; that the New Deal was heavily staffed with Jewish bureaucrats; that the movie and radio industries are in the hands of Jews and that the policy of American newspapers is directed by Jewish department store advertisers. The propounders of such questions are asking for *hatred*. They are not interested in *facts*.

Gerald L. K. Smith and his type of rabble-inciting crusader do more good for the Communist cause in one week than the Communists would be able to accomplish in a year. The average patriotic American Jew is offended and insulted in the attack upon the Jewish citizen even though the attack may be generally directed against Communism. It is the technique of a Hitler in mobilizing uninformed masses to a Nazi standard. The social aspects of such rabble-rousing are appalling.

An ideological war against Communism is not a Christian or a Jewish crusade. It is simply an *American* campaign and includes every citizen of these United States who believes in the Constitution, in the Bill of Rights and in our existing form of government, regardless of race, color or creed.

World War I and II were fought successfully by American whites and blacks, Christians and Jews. The morale of the American armed forces is found in its unified devotion to American freedom and traditions. Jews and Christians, blacks and whites, fell impartially on the beach-heads of Europe and in the jungles of the South Seas.

The committee believes that an attack upon any segment of American citizenry, even though purportedly part of an over-all attack upon such a subversive organization as the Communist Party, is, in itself, subversive *per se*. Any organized attack upon the Jews of America, or any other ethnic group, violates the spirit and letter of the Constitution of the United States, creates domestic discord and disunity and is detrimental to the public welfare. Gerald L. K. Smith merits the most severe public criticism and condemnation for his contribution to racial agitation.

JEWISH COMMUNISM

Hitler was probably the first to coin the term "Jewish Communism." This vicious connotation has been used with telling effect in many quarters by anti-Semites. It would be somewhat amusing, if it were not so serious, to note that the anti-Semites on the one hand charge that Jews are "Communists" and, on the other hand, continually charge that they are the "big department store advertisers and the most oppressive of capitalists." It probably depends upon whom the anti-Semites desire to influence. Nearly everyone has heard the terms "the Jewish international bankers," and the "Jewish money lenders." A thinking person might stop long enough to analyze these sundry charges. The Jews can't very well be both capitalists and Communists.

Sigmund Livingston in his book "*Must Men Hate?*" tells of an interview he once had with the editor of a certain metropolitan newspaper who believed that the Jews of Germany had espoused Communism and hence helped Hitler rise to power. (p. 61):

"I asked whether he knew the size of the Communist vote of Germany immediately prior to Hitler's rise to power. He answered

in the negative, and I informed him that in 1932 the total Communistic vote of Germany was 5,960,240. He was then asked if he knew how many Jews had lived in Germany. Again he replied in the negative and he was told that there were then only 550,000 Jews in all Germany, including men, women and children. He agreed that of this entire Jewish population certainly not more than 200,000 were voters. Thus if the entire Jewish vote were subtracted from the total Communistic vote, it would still leave 5,760,240 votes. He was informed that the majority of Jews had voted the Social-Democrat ticket and that the number who voted for Communistic ticket was a very small percentage of the entire 200,000 votes, and certainly a negligible amount of the total Communist vote. This editor was quite gracious in his appreciation of the facts and frankly acknowledged his error."

Karl Marx, the founder of Communism, was born of Jewish parents. At the age of six he was baptized in the Christian faith. He was educated as a Christian. Frederick Engels, who collaborated with and supported Karl Marx during most of his adult life, was a German of the pure Teutonic variety.

Official records of 1918 show a total Bolshevik party membership in Russia of 124,000. 75 percent of the members were Russians, 10.5 percent were Latvians, 6.3 were Poles, 3.7 were Estonians and 2.6 were Jews. The majority of Russian-Jews opposed Bolshevism. They supported the provisional government of Alexander Kerensky, which was overthrown by the Bolshevik revolution under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky. The three great Jewish workers' organizations of Russia publicly declared their opposition to Bolshevism. Sigmund Livingston, above referred to, points out on page 63 of his book that Lenin's government issued a manifesto on March 15, 1918 attacking the Jewish workers for their anti-Bolshevist attitude. Mr. Livingston makes the following statement:

"In 1918 the Jewish workers had made common cause with the Jewish bourgeois in the Ukraine, and opposed Bolshevism with armed resistance. At that time two-fifths of Russia's Jews were tradesmen, one-third were employed in handicraft, and the Communist movement meant a greater catastrophe for the Jews than for any other group of the Russian people. The establishment of Bolshevism declassed 25 percent of the Russian Jews, but only 5 percent to 6 percent of the non-Jews. The declassed received no bread cards, were denied the right to hold office, to work in factories or to send their children to industrial schools. The distress among the Russian Jews was so great that they would have died of starvation had it not been for the American Jewish relief agencies.

"The Russian Bolshevik government dealt blow after blow at Jewry. Synagogues were converted into workmen's clubs. Jewish religious philanthropic organizations were liquidated. Hebrew schools were forbidden and the teaching of the Hebrew language was proscribed. No person under eighteen years of age could be taught religion."

In 1944 there was only one Jew, Lazar Kaganovich, on the Politburo, the supreme directing body in Russia.

There were four Jews among the 19 Commissars.

ANTI-SEMITIC CANARDS

A favorite hoax of anti-Semites is to label those whom they wish to smear as Jews. This technique is one of the most amazing of all and is particularly designed to move the most ignorant of the masses. The long list of outstanding Jews in the field of science, medicine, art and music constitutes a substantial portion of the real contributors to modern civilization. Most educated men and women are aware of this fact and it is inconceivable that the mere labeling of a non-Jew as a Jew would in any way detract from that person's ability, integrity or general character. Nevertheless the anti-Semitic propagandist continues to label those whom they dislike as Jews. Sigmund Livingston in his book mentioned above lists several pages of such canards.

Among the most notorious of these hoaxes may be mentioned President Roosevelt and the Roosevelt family. The anti-Semites went to considerable trouble and expense to label Roosevelt and his family as Jews and stated that the original family name was *Rosenfeld*. Even William Randolph Hearst has been labeled a Jew, as has J. P. Morgan whose real name, the anti-Semites allege, is *Morganstern*. In support of the anti-Semitic myth that all the Jews are Communists, Nikolai Lenin, the father of the Bolshevik revolution, has been labeled a Jew. Even General Dwight David Eisenhower has been called a Jew.

Many further illustrations might be given. The interested reader is referred to "*Must Men Hate?*" by Sigmund Livingston, pages 97 to 101.

During the 1942 election campaign the chairman of this committee was called on the telephone by a woman who said she was seeking pertinent information to guide her in her selection of candidates. She stated that she had been reliably informed that the chairman's name was actually "Jacob Tennenbaum" and that he was born in Russia. She stated that she could not bring herself to vote for a Jew and if her information was correct she would be compelled to withdraw her support. She further stated that, in order to deceive the people, "Jacob Tennenbaum" had changed his name to "Jack Tenney." Although the candidate came from many generations of American Scotch-Irish forebears he emphatically informed the woman that he was not interested in her support.

MISCELLANEOUS ANTI-SEMITIC LIBELS

This part of the report might be extended to great length if the committee were to list, examine and analyze the thousands of libels directed against the Jews by the anti-Semites in America. It should be sufficient to state that all of these libels, without a single exception, have been proved, time and time again, to be vicious fictions, fabricated by twisted minds for the purpose of discrediting a peace-loving race of people whose greatest desire is to live at peace with their neighbors. Among these libels should be mentioned the "Ritual Blood Accusation," the perennial libels concerning the *Talmud*, and the so-called "Protocols of the Elders of Zion." Any interested person can ascertain the falsity of these accusations by a little research.

During the past decade there has appeared from time to time a reproduction of a document the substance of which is attributed to Benjamin Franklin. It is generally known as the "Benjamin Franklin Prophecy." Its original appearance is said to be on February 3, 1934 in a pro-Nazi publication called *The Liberation*, published by William Dudley Pelley, the notorious leader of the *Silver Shirts*. This "prophecy" is from a speech supposedly made by Benjamin Franklin before the Constitutional Convention in 1787, warning the Convention against the immigration of Jews into the United States. Each time this "prophecy" is reproduced and distributed it is claimed that the original is to be found in a diary kept by Charles Pinckney of South Carolina in possession of the *Franklin Institute* at Philadelphia.

This alleged "document" has been thoroughly investigated and the hoax completely exploded. Charles A. Beard, an authority on Benjamin Franklin, in a public statement, charged that the quotation was fictitious and clearly a literary forgery, invented for the purpose of encouraging anti-Semitism in this country. It should be needless to say that the *Franklin Institute* at Philadelphia does not possess the Pinckney diary, never did possess it, and has been unable to find any record of such a diary.

James F. Jamison, Chief of the Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress, made the following statement:

"It is practically certain that the diary alleged to have been kept by Charles Pinckney during the sessions of the Philadelphia Convention in 1787 does not exist and never did exist. That chit-chat is almost certainly imaginary. Anyhow, it is absolutely certain that the speech against the Jews, said to have been delivered by Franklin at that Convention, is a clumsy, impudent, and vicious forgery. It is incredible that James Madison, taking notes on every speech, should have failed to show an important speech by Franklin. It is incredible that a man of Franklin's disposition should have made such a speech."

In a letter dated August 12, 1938, by Alfred Ringling, Librarian of the *Franklin Institute*, we find the following:

"Neither the original nor any copy of it, is in the possession of the Franklin Institute. Historians and Historical Societies have endeavored to locate the Pinckney work, but without success. There is no copy in the Library of Congress, or the New York Public Library. Our State Historical Society has made careful investigation and fails to find any information concerning it. On the evening of July 16, a broadcaster from Germany read this fictitious statement, and we have reason to believe now that this is foreign propaganda."

It is almost incredible that any normal person possessing a modicum of decency would have perpetrated such a vicious hoax. The sad fact, however, is that it has been done and it is evidenced by copies of the alleged "prophecy," picked up in the City of Los Angeles, now in the files of the committee. In addition to its miserable design and intent, the

document is a libel on one of America's greatest citizens, Benjamin Franklin. He was a friend and an admirer of the Jews. When the Hebrew Society of Philadelphia desired to build a synagogue in Philadelphia, Benjamin Franklin not only contributed to the fund, but signed a petition addressed to the citizens of every religious denomination in Philadelphia, asking for contributions.

Every libel against the Jews has about the same substance in fact as that contained in the Benjamin Franklin "prophecy" myth.

JEW IN THE MOTION PICTURE AND RADIO INDUSTRIES

Part of the anti-Semitic propaganda declares that the motion picture and radio industries are in the hands of the Jews. Were it not for the insidious implication contained in such a statement the average citizen and, certainly the members of this committee, would be inclined to shrug their shoulders and say "So what?" The very statement, however, is designed to carry with it a sinister connotation. Certainly the Jewish citizens of the United States have a constitutional right to be in the motion picture and radio industries as in any other legitimate business. But even this propaganda, like other anti-Semitic insinuations, is baseless.

The facts are simple. Two out of nineteen directors of Radio-Keith-Orpheum Pictures, Inc., are Jews; only four out of nineteen directors of United Artists Corporation are Jews; only two out of thirteen directors of Universal Pictures, Inc., are Jews; nine out of twenty-one directors of Warner Brothers are Jews; five out of fifteen directors of Paramount Pictures, Inc., and one out of eighteen directors of Twentieth Century Fox are Jews. Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, Inc., and Columbia Pictures have a slight majority of Jews in the directorate.

The same situation prevails in the radio industry. The board of directors of several radio networks contain Jews and non-Jews in the following proportion:

National Broadcasting Company, one Jew out of thirteen; Columbia Broadcasting Company, eight Jews out of thirteen; Mutual Broadcasting Company, one Jew out of nine.

The executives of radio networks number the following:

National Broadcasting Company, one Jew out of twenty; Columbia Broadcasting Company, six Jews out of sixteen; Mutual Broadcasting Company, one Jew out of eight; Blue Network, no Jew out of four.

It should be noted that for every well-to-do Jew there are at least a thousand poor Jews. It has been pointed out on many occasions that the families of the Rockefellers, Fords, Morgans, Harknesses, Mellons, Vanderbilts, Whitneys and Du Ponts possess in the aggregate more wealth than all the combined resources of all the Jewish bankers and industrialists of this country, and perhaps of the world.

ANTI-SEMITISM IS UN-AMERICAN

The committee has heretofore stated, and again reiterates, that anti-Semitism is fully as un-American as any other subversive *ism* examined. The Ku Klux Klan and similar organizations, including that of Gerald L. K. Smith, are unequivocally condemned in their attack upon the Jews, whether that attack be direct or by way of innuendo. A Communist is an

atheist and therefore is neither Jew nor Christian. Regardless of his ethnic category he is an enemy of the United States of America and of every citizen in it, Jew and Christian alike.

The United States has needed its Jewish citizens in every war it has so successfully fought. In the war for the preservation of American liberties the United States will need every citizen, regardless of race, color or creed.

The members of the committee are convinced that in the struggle against Communism, patriotic Americans, black and white, Jew and Christian, will again fight successfully shoulder to shoulder against the common enemy.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The following is not intended to be a complete summarization of all committee findings contained in the foregoing text. The conclusions listed hereafter are concerned only with the broad outline of Communist activity in the State of California.

1. Communism may be briefly summarized as an economic system characterized by government ownership of all property used in production and marketing. The government is a police state, unrestrained and all-powerful, subject to the will of a ruthless dictator. It is distinguished by economic planning, wage and price-fixing, forced labor, militarism and imperialism. It permits but one political party, the *Communist Party*, to exist. Complete loss of individual liberty goes hand in hand with Communism.

2. Both Fascism and Communism are distinguished by complete government control over production; the means, quantity, quality; the when and where, of production and distribution. Both types of governments are totalitarian, one-party systems, featuring planned economy under bureaucratic control. The single party creates a preferred *elite* protected against the regimented and enslaved masses by a brutal secret police. Militarism and imperialism constitute the hard core of both systems of government.

Hence, Communism may be properly termed *Red-Fascism*.

3. Force and violence are inseparable from the Communist program and, no matter how fervently the Communist attempts to deny this fact during periods of retreat, he knows that the ultimate use of force and violence are inevitable. The announced Communist objective to capture and destroy the state, as now constituted, together with the determination to expropriate private property, cannot be accomplished without the employment of force and violence.

4. The *Communist Party* is a small, compact group of professional revolutionists. It does not seek large membership. Through the instrumentality of psychological agitation it proposes to move the masses of non-Communists toward what it terms a "revolutionary situation."

5. The *Communist Party* infiltrates every conceivable mass organization in the country—"in trade unions, in farm organizations, in ladies clubs, in Harlem, in the deep south, among the intellectuals." It inspires the creation of mass organizations, to which non-Communists are attracted because of publicized purported "liberal" objectives. This Communist work is everywhere efficiently centralized, correlated, directed and organized.

6. William Z. Foster, current General Secretary of the *Communist Party of the United States*, owes his allegiance to the Soviet Government. He believes, and has so stated, that when a Communist heads the government of the United States that that government will be a Soviet government backed by a Red army ready to enforce the dictatorship of the

proletariat. He has stated that his flag, and the flag of his followers, is the Red flag adorned with the hammer-and-sickle of Soviet Russia.

7. All Communists believe themselves to be in a state of perpetual warfare with capitalist governments. The over-all strategy of the *Communist Party* is designed to bring about the destruction of *all* democratic governments. The ultimate objective is the establishment of the so-called dictatorship of the proletariat. Every Communist fanatically believes that world Capitalism and Communism must come to a decisive struggle in which one or the other will conquer. Every Communist is thoroughly convinced that Communism will emerge triumphant. Both Lenin and Stalin have declared that a war-to-the-death conflict between Capitalism and Communism is inevitable.

8. The "day-to-day" struggle constitutes part of Communist tactics. It is concerned with sabotaging and weakening the democratic governments in which the Communists work.

9. All Communists firmly believe that the Soviet Union is the Red Fatherland of the proletariat everywhere, and, as such, it must be protected in its development at any cost because it is the arsenal for world conquest. Meanwhile the Communists in all countries work for revolution, taking Stalin at his word when he said that "in the event of necessity (Soviet Russia will) come out even with armed forces against the exploiting classes in their states." Thus, every Communist in the United States is a potential traitor, saboteur and espionage agent of Soviet Russia.

10. Communism is a world revolutionary movement. The respective parties in each country are motivated by the political philosophies of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, plus directives from the Kremlin itself. The so-called Communist "Party Line" invariably follows Soviet foreign policy. Stalin has sold the Communist Parties of the world on the promise that Soviet Russia is "the base of the world revolution" and, consequently, every Communist has transferred his sense of loyalty and allegiance from his native land to the government of Soviet Russia.

11. The part played by Earl Browder during the war in apparently "collaborating with Capitalism" was a deceptive tactic utilized for the purpose of securing needed aid for Soviet Russia. His ouster from the *Communist Party*, followed by the restoration of the militant revolutionary character of the party, ended the Sixth Era of Communist strategy in the United States.

12. The American people are now facing the greatest agitational activity on the part of the Communists in the history of the *Communist Party in the United States*. This activity will be intensified with increasing rapidity as the international situation becomes more acute. Acts of sabotage and violence, terror and assassination may be expected if diplomatic relations between the United States and Soviet Russia become strained.

The committee is firmly convinced that this current period—the Seventh Period of Communist Strategy in the United States—is the most critical period of all. The American people must be awakened to the fact that every member of the American *Communist Party* is a potential espionage and sabotage agent for the Soviet government. Our people must realize, now more than ever before, that it is the admitted and

avowed purpose of Moscow to create and foster a Communist revolution in every Capitalist democracy in the world.

13. *Mobilization for Democracy* and the *Hollywood Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions* are two of the key Communist fronts in California. The mailing lists and facilities of these two organizations are being used by Communist fronts in the State.

14. The Communist dominated *National Citizens Political Action Committee* failed as a radical coalition political organization in carrying the *Communist Party* line into government. Communist steering committees have directed this organization and the *Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions* into a new and broader Communist front for the entire United States. The *Progressive Citizens of America* is the result.

15. *Mobilization for Democracy* deliberately manufactured *Ku Klux Klan* acts of terrorism for political purposes. The Communist plan to utilize this front for agitational purposes in California was thwarted by the investigations of the *Los Angeles Central Labor Council* of the *American Federation of Labor* and this Committee which exposed the true purposes behind the organization.

16. The *People's Educational Center* and the *California Labor School* are expanded *Communist Party* institutions for the purpose of disseminating Communist propaganda.

17. *American Youth for Democracy* is the successor to the *Young Communist League*.

18. University professors, for the greater part, permitted their names to be used in connection with the above mentioned institutions, without knowledge of the true character or purpose of the schools. In other cases it appears that the professors involved permitted their names to be used by the institutions with knowledge of their Communist character.

19. The *University of California Press* is being used to publish a quarterly edited by California's outstanding Communist, John Howard Lawson. This former associate editor of the *Daily Worker* is currently one of the editors of a Communist quarterly, *Mainstream*, launched in January of 1944.

20. The *Young Women's Christian Association* and the *Young Men's Christian Association* at Berkeley permit Communist meetings and known Communist speakers to use their building facilities. Both of these organizations use the name of the *University of California* in connection with their own associations, giving the impression that both are connected with the university itself.

21. While the great majority of the teachers in the California public school system are patriotic Americans there are Communists and Communist fellow-travelers teaching in the system. The Committee finds that at least two teachers at *Canoga Park High School* were indoctrinating students with Communism. Both teachers are connected with Communist organizations. The Committee finds that Mrs. Frances Eisenberg and Mrs. Blanche Bettington slanted their teachings and discussions at *Canoga Park High School* for the purpose of indoctrinating the students with Communistic philosophy, disrespect for the Capitalist system of government of the United States and for the further purpose of building respect and reverence for the cruel dictatorship of Soviet Russia.

22. The C.I.O. Maritime Unions, particularly the *Marine Cooks and Stewards* Union in San Francisco, are Communist dominated. The Committee finds that anti-Communist members of the *Marine Cooks and Stewards* Union are being expelled for criticizing Communism and the Communist clique in the organization.

23. Herbert K. Sorrell is a secret member of the *Communist Party*. The *Conference of Studio Unions*, headed by Sorrell, on strike for over a year, is Communist dominated, inspired and directed for the purpose of capturing the *American Federation of Labor* unions in the motion picture industry.

24. The *Communist Party* has made strenuous efforts to capture radio through the use of Communist news commentators and analysts. The *Hollywood Community Radio Group, Inc.*, is Communist inspired and directed. Its immediate objective is the establishment of a radio station in Los Angeles County.

25. The *International Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians* of the C.I.O. is a Communist front. Chapter 25 of this group met secretly during the war and discussed the atomic and radiation research work at the *University of California*. It is a potential espionage organization owing its first allegiance to Soviet Russia.

26. The Committee finds that when an individual is an habitual subscriber to the *Communist Party* press, is a member of Communist front organizations, follows the *Communist Party* line without deviation, generally associates with known members of the *Communist Party* and is willing to condemn Fascism while vehemently refusing to criticize Communism, it may be properly assumed that such an individual is something more than a mere Communist fellow-traveler.

27. "*Land of the Soviets*" is a booklet used for school children in Glendale. The book was written by Marguerite N. Stewart and edited by Maxwell S. Stewart. The Committee finds that Maxwell S. Stewart is pro-Communist and pro-Soviet and that the book is slanted to glamorize the Soviet Union and Communism. By way of comparison the dictatorship of the proletariat under Joseph Stalin is made to appear as a socialist Utopia.

The Committee finds that the booklet "*Land of the Soviets*" is pure pro-Soviet, pro-Communist propaganda and that the use of the book for school children has a sinister objective. The booklet is a "cooperative project between American Council, *Institute of Pacific Relations* and *Webster Publishing Company*." Marguerite N. Stewart is the secretary of this organization. While the Committee has not made sufficient investigation of the *Institute of Pacific Relations* to determine its true character, its participation in the production of "*Land of the Soviets*" plus the fact that the author of the book, Marguerite N. Stewart, is the institute's secretary, raises a serious question as to its true character.

28. The Committee finds that certain sex books included in a proposed course in the *Chico High School* follow or parallel the *Communist Party* line for the destruction of the moral fibre of American youth. Disrespect for parents, religion and law is subtly interwoven throughout the context of the books in question. The Committee finds the books pornographic in content, immoral in many respects and totally unfit for high school students.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The Committee specifically recommends the following:

1. That a similar committee be empowered and authorized to function by the Legislature for 1947 and 1948, and that sufficient funds be appropriated to provide an adequate staff of attaches and competent investigators.

2. That Congress be memorialized to enact necessary legislation outlawing the *Communist Party* nationally as an enemy of the United States Government.

3. Strict enforcement of the Subversive Registration Act of 1941.

4. Enactment of legislation providing for the disbarment of attorneys who are members of the *Communist Party* or other subversive groups.

5. That legislation be enacted authorizing and mandating governing boards of all professions to exercise disciplinary action, including revocation of the licenses of members of the respective professions who are found to be members of subversive and un-American groups.

6. That legislation be enacted charging the State Board of Education with the responsibility of investigating complaints filed against members of the teaching profession holding credentials issued by the State Board where such members are charged with being members of, or participating in, subversive and un-American activities.

7. That the Legislature enact a statute establishing by law a rebuttable presumption of subversive and un-American activities based on established historical policies and "lines" of subversive groups and organizations.

8. The enactment of legislation to provide procedure for the ousting of subversive employees from civil service status in the government of California.

9. That Congress be memorialized to provide federal legislation strengthening the existing law concerning the cancellation of citizenship of a former alien who, at the time of receiving citizenship, was a member of a subversive organization.

10. Enactment of appropriate legislation prohibiting any person who is a member or affiliated with any organization or group dominated by a foreign government, or which advocates the undermining, weakening or the overthrow of the government of the United States by force and violence, from occupying any office or position, supported in whole or in part by public funds of the State of California.

11. Enactment of legislation providing for the right of private industry, engaged wholly or in part in the production of armament or other materials essential to national defense, to discharge any person connected with the *Communist Party* or any other subversive organization.

12. That the Legislature enact legislation mandating compulsory courses in tax supported schools of the State emphasizing American history, American heroes and leaders and American traditions.

13. That the Legislature carefully scrutinize suspected public school textbooks for *Communist Party* propaganda and withhold funds for the purchase of questionable books.

14. That the Legislature establish an Interim Committee for the purpose of making a thorough study of the educational system of the State with particular reference to educational fundamentals, inspirational courses and texts designed to create respect and devotion for American democracy, principles and the Constitution.

15. That the Legislature establish a Joint Legislative Committee composed of personnel not connected with the Joint Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities, and that such committee be directed to study the reports of this committee together with the reports of similar committees of the several states and the Congress for the purpose of formulating a series of legislative recommendations designed to effectively put an end to all organizations that have as their objective the destruction of the Government of the United States by force and violence or other illegal means.

Respectfully submitted.

JACK B. TENNEY, Chairman
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